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as the materials are collected from the best available sources.

7 The divisions are,

1. Religious associations
2. Political performances
3. Social life and status,
4. Literary merit and productions
5. Scientific and moral advancement.

VI. Anagondi seems to have been in existence long before Vijayanagara rose to importance on the southern bank of the Thungabhadra. It commanded vast resources and power and its rulers were energetic and warlike. An impenetrable gloom hangs over the origin and development of Anagondi as it does over the earliest histories of so many other kingdoms. The relationship of the Rayas of Vijayanagar with the earlier rulers of Anagondi is not clearly known. It is childish to think that Anagondi was called into existence as a suburb of Vijayanagar. The princes removed a large number of these huge animals later on to the suburb of Anagondi where better accommodation was available for them.

VII. Anagondi, the parent city, presented great natural advantages, for purposes of military defence and these were immensely strengthened by strong masonry fortifications on and around the series of rocky hills, which surrounded it. On the East and South Anagondi is defended by the Thungabhadra River with its rocky bed and deep pools and on the north and west hills of considerable elevations encircle it as if laid by nature for its defence. The passes in the hills, when strongly fortified, would afford great facilities for the garrison to cut off the invading armies with the greatest ease. Kiskindha of Vali is now identified with the ruins of Anagondi and since that time seems have been the capital of powerful rulers. The Rayas of Vijayanagar utilised these natural

advantages and strengthend them by rocky walls of cyclopean masonry. The prince could not have selected a better place for their capital when they entered upon their career of conquest than Anagondi and Vijayanagar on the Northern and Southern banks of the river Thungabhadra respectively.

VIII. The city founded on the southern bank of the Thungabhadra first went under the name of Vijayanagar or Bijanagar and it was subsequently revived in grander proportions by Sage Vidyaranya and was named as Vidyanagari after him. It grew rapidly in extent, wealth, population power and magnificence till it became one of the largest, if not the largest cities in the world. Foreign travellers were attracted to his noble city by the stories of its fabulous wealth, extent, splendour and power. It formed one huge city of fortifications, palaces, temples, charitable institutions, canals, smiling fruit and flower gardens, places of public enjoyment and delight, schools and colleges, stables for elephants and horses, council chambers and public offices, picturesquely lakes and audience halls, pavilions and bazars. From North to South, on both the banks of the Thungabhadra, or from Basavapattanam Kanavi to Nagalapur or modern Hospet the distance is 14 miles and from East to West with the Thungabhadra in the middle the extreme breadth is 11 miles. This huge area of more than 150 square miles was fully crowded with traders, consuls, ambassadors, governors, viceroys, commanders of different armies, wrestlers, songsters, musicians of all grades, engineers, artists, mechanics, masons, bricklayers, stone cutters, dancers, jugglers, tamers of elephants and trainers of horses, smiths, foreign adventurers and travellers, college professors and students from all parts of India, palankin and torch bearers, body guards, cavaliers, palace servants, priests and temple worshippers, dancing girls and their numerous admirers and those vast crowds of humanity whose business

was to pander to the tastes of the royalty and nobility and whose total alone would have given quite a respectable number to any one of our modern flourishing cities. Mr. Sewell observes—"The city is declared, by a succession have of European visitors in the 15th and 16th centuries, to have been marvellous for its size and prosperity, a city with which in richness and magnificence no known western capital could compare" Nicolo, the Italian traveller, says that "the great city of Bizengalia (Bijinagar) is situated near very steep mountains. The circumference of the city is 60 miles. Its walls are carried up to the mountains, the extent is thereby increased. There are 90,000 men bearing arms. The king is more powerful than all the other Kings of India. He takes to himself 12000 wives."

IX. Abdur Razzak, the Persian Ambassador to the court of Deva Raya II, gives a graphic description of this royal city—"The Prince of Bidjanagar has 300 ports in his dominions and on *terra firma* his territories comprise three months journey. One sees there (in the capital) more than a thousand elephants. The troops amount to eleven lacs of men. The city of Bidjanagar is such that the pupil of the eye has never seen a place like it and the ear of intelligence has never heard of anything equal to it in the world. Seven citadels and the same number of walls enclose each other. By the King's palace are four broad and long bazars and above each bazar there is a lofty arcade, with a magnificent gallery. Shops are contiguous to each other and the jewellers sell publicly in the bazars pearls, rubies, diamonds, sapphires and other costly gems. Numerous canals and streams, formed of chiselled stone, polished and smooth, are running in this agreeable locality. His empire contains so great a population that it would be impossible to give an idea. In the King's Palace are several cells filled with bullion. Each elephant has a separate compartment the walls of which are solid and thick.

Opposite the mint are stationed 12000 guards". He then describes a feast thus—in obedience to the Emperor's order the principal personages from all parts of his empire collected before the palace bringing with them 1000 elephants covered with brilliant armour and with castles magnificently adorned. Numerous pavilions were erected in front of the palace to the height of three, four or five stories covered from top to bottom with figures in relief. They were so arranged as to turn every movement and present a new face, a new hall, or a new chamber. In front of this place rose a palace of nine pavilions, magnificently ornamented. In the ninth was set up the extraordinary throne made of gold and enriched with precious stones of extreme value. The roof and walls were entirely made of plates of gold fastened with golden nails.

X. Nuniz observes—"Krishna Deva Raya marched to the seige of Raichur with 700,000 foot, 30000 horse and 550 Elephants.

Paes remarks—"This King has continually a million fighting troops, including 3,5,000 cavalry in armour. He has these troops always ready for despatch and I saw the King despatch a force of 150,000 under 50 captains to a city by the sea coast. The king, when he wishes to show his strength, puts into the field two million men, and he is thus the most feared king in these parts. Some of his captains have a million or million and a half paradas (Pagodas). In this review there were the finest young men possible to be seen—for in all this array I did not see a man who could act the part of a coward. The king keeps near him 12,000 women'.

XI. Duarte Barbosa observes—"it is very populous. There are very large and handsome palaces with numerous courts belonging to the king. There are also many other palaces belonging to the great lords. The streets and galleries are very wide. They are constantly filled

with innumerable crowds of all nations and creeds. There is an infinite trade in this 'city.'

• Caesar Frederic observes—" He had seen many courts but never anything to compare with it (Vijayanagar). Feris-to remarks—" They had possessed this kingdom for 700 years and the treasure they accumulated was so great as to equal those of all the kings of the earth." Castanheda records that "the infantry of Vijayanagar were countless, that the country was thickly populated and that the King kept an establishment of 100,000 horses and 4000 elephants at his own cost."

XII. A rough estimate of the immense population may thus be gathered. The Emperors seem to have kept for immediate defences of the city, 200,000 infantry, 60,000 cavalry and 1000 elephants with a good complement of guns and artillery officers. The Emperor's special body guard consisted of 6000 well mounted and richly dressed horsemen. There were about 1000 horses for the King's personal use in the palace. About 12000 maid-servants, richly dressed and ornamented, attended upon the palace ladies. 4000 workmen and mechanics were permanently attached to attend to palace repairs. The King's own cooks were 200 in number. The palace guards were 12000 men. The male servants of all grades must have been about 5000. About 20,000 spearmen were in close quarters to the palace. 3,000 men looked after the elephants stable. There were 20000 litter and palanquins near the palace and the number of bearers must have been at least 2000,00 men. A military population of 200000 souls meant at least treble that number of grooms, grass cutters, ferriers, retainers, camp followers and their family relations. The trading population was immense as the style of living in the royal city was extremely luxurious. 20000 dancing women followed Krishna Deva Raya on his march to the seige of Raichur, and their number and attendants at the capital must have been

palaces and the floor scents to be well cemented. Probably the Rayas of Vijayanagar had concealed their treasure here or found there some concealed treasure. The place is well fortified and secluded. Concreted and strong flooring on the top of this hill gives some color to these traditions and probably there are many under ground rooms and vaults which may even now contain vast treasures of the bygone periods. The description given in Ramayana about Kishkindha tallies admirably well. If a man sails down the current from about 3 miles from the west of the Hampi temple to about 4 miles north of Anagondi he realises that he is treading upon sacred regions, once honored by the footsteps of the immortal heroes of Ramayana. Anjana Parvatha rises abruptly with a grand scenic effect over the bed of the river which flows most picturesquely between two chains of rocky hills. Malyavanta, Mathanga and Rushya Mukha add great sublimity to an already sublime landscape.

XVI. Rivers have general as well as special names and there need not be any difficulty if Pampasarovar is called both a river and a lake in Ramayana. An illustration explains this well. A man bathes in Manikarnika a ghaut on the left bank of the Ganges in Benares. After this he is asked to bathe in a small pond close by to secure his full share of the merit. He will be right when he says that he bathed in the lake as well as the river Ganges. These lakes are fed by the rivers and take or give their names to them. During the period of Ramayana, Pampasarovar must have been most picturesquely situated and probably formed a part of the river. Even now in high floods the Thungabhadra overflows into this lake. Rivers may have more than a name as Sanpoo is called Brahmaputra lower down in its course Taraparvata is about a mile to the north of Anagondi and furnishes several local legends.

People say there are huge caves and structures inside these mountains. Rama killed Vali here, entered into friendship with Sugreeva, saw the remarkable character

Anjaneya, received the worship of Sabari in the cave and went on his conquering career to Lanka. There are other lakes called Sitasarovei and Manasarovar and Ashramas honored by the names of Vasista, Mathonga, Vyasa, Bharadvaja and Vidyaranya. The place is of great antiquity and is extremely rich in religious, historical and literary associations.

XVII. Vijayanagara was wonderfully productive in literature. Vidyaranya wrote here the Veda Bhashyas and conferred the greatest boon in the world on the cultured humanity. He revived the city in grand proportions in 1336 A.D. Besides commentaries on the Vedas the Sage has given learned treatises on Dharmasastra, Vedantha, Biography, medicine, Astrology, Politics and Alstronomy. The revival of the Telugu literature in grander and more original forms was due to the liberal encouragement given to scholars by the princes of Vigayanagar. Krishna Deva was one of the greatest of Telugu poets and wrote *Amuktu Malyada*, *Manucharitra*, *Parijatapjharana*, *Panduranga Mahatya* and *Vasucharitra* were the productions of poets patronised by the Vijayanagar emperors. Krishna Deva Raya won the enviable title of *Andhra Bhoja*.

XVIII. Angada was the son of Vali and his capital may have been called Angadi. This may easily have been changed into Anagondi when the Rayas began to cluster their hordes of elephants there. All round Anagondi hard cemented floorings of extraordinary strength and tenacity show the existence of an extensive ruined city ruled by kings of great power and resources.

XIX. The introduction briefly shows the nature of the Empire about which the following pages are treated. I make no apology in presenting this little book for the kind acceptance of the educated public as I sincerely trust that its absorbing interest will secure their undivided attention.

A
SHORT HISTORY
OF
VIJAYANAGAR.
(*The Never To Be Forgotten Empire*).

CHAPTER I.
SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

This is an abstract of the big book that I have written upon this subject and it is intended for all classes of readers who cannot spare much time for historical studies, but who would, at the same time, like to read short accounts of those great empires which flourished in the earlier centuries, and whose careers have a peculiar interest for the present and future generations.

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monarchs, who rules over Anagondi and draws a British political pension.

- (2) Traditions and popular stories current all over the Deccan and Southern India.
- (3) Writings of the different earlier, contemporary and later travellers and visitors to the Court of Vijayanagar.
- (4) References made to the rulers of Vijayanagar in literary or scientific works.
- (5) Inscriptions found in temples, villages, tanks and other public or private buildings.
- (6) Villages, temples, cities, tanks, anicuts etc. erected by the Rayas of Vijayanagar or under their orders.
- (7) Copper-plate grants in the possession of government or private persons.
- (8) References to Vijayanagar in the histories of other

used by Vija-

tion and

given

CHAPTER II.
EARLY HISTORY OF ANAGONDI.

The parent city of Vijayanagar.

A successful nation finds it difficult to trace accurately, its own origin, growth and the causes which raised it to greatness. Analyses of the causes of the rise of great kingdoms and empires will generally be the work of later historians. The Princes of Vijayanagar trace their descent from Yadu, and were related to the heroes of the Mahabharata. Krishna Devaraya, the greatest of the Vijayanagar Emperors, traces his descent from Chandra Vamsa, in his immortal work "Amuktamalyada." Inscriptions unearthed speak to the same tune. Inscriptions collected are often so confusing and contradictory, that the historian of Vijayanagar finds his task really an uphill-work. Inferences drawn from such confusing masses of evidence remain open to question, and the readers cannot be placed in a better position than the writer of that history itself. FERISTA significantly remarks that "the rulers or chiefs of Anagondi had existed as a ruling family for seven hundred years prior to the year 1336 A. D," the date of its revival in grander proportions. Nuniz, a Portuguese traveller who visited the court of Achyuta Raya about the year 1536 A.D. says that the King of Delhi made war on the King of Bisnagar (Vijayanagar) in 1230 A.D., whose capital was Nagundyam, (Anagondi), strongly fortified, with a large and powerful army. The Chief of Anagondi, seeing the immense forces brought against him by the Sultan of Delhi, and his own small resources to oppose him, determined to abandon the city which was difficult to enter."

He retired to the fortress of Orynmata with five thousand of his best troops, defended it as long as he was able to

do so and after killing his wife and children, and followed by his faithful band of brave warriors, sallied out of the fort and died fighting, till every one of them was killed except six old men who concealed themselves.*

The six old men who had taken refuge in an old house in the fortress were captured by the Sultan's forces. The body of the King was, at the request of these men, honorably conveyed to the city of Anagondi and there buried. The Sultan of Delhi stayed here for two years, and when news of rebellions in different parts of the countries conquered by him came, he left a Deputy by name Mellik Neby with sufficient forces to guard the fortress and went away to Delhi. The Sultan's return from Anagondi meant a signal for a general rising among the Hindus, and they besieged the Governor of the Fortress and cut off his communications. The Deputy saw his desperate situation, and sent a special messenger to his master at Delhi for early succour.

Toglak convened a meeting of his councillors, and after a fair discussion of the situation of his Deputy, he raised one of the six old men, who was minister to the chief of Anagondi—to be King of Anagondi, and another, who was treasurer in the chief's service, to be minister, and after taking oaths of fealty and furnishing them with sufficient number of troops, sent them back to Anagondi. When

* The King of Anagondi was probably a Karnatic prince, who had his strongholds in the series of rocky hills round about Anagondi, and who governed as an independent Chief over a large area of the surrounding country. He seems to have first met Mahomed Toglak in Kampili and when he found himself unable to withstand the huge army of the Mahomedans, he withdrew himself to the fortress in Anagondi, called "Chinna Magota and Pedda Magota" and defended himself as long as he could and then died fighting like a true Kahatriya after killing all their women and children.

these six men returned, Anagondi was found in ruins. Nuniz calls this new King, Deoroa. He went one day hunting into the jungle on the southern side of the Thunga-bhudra, where now lie scattered the grand ruins of the city of Vijayanagar, and he saw the strange phenomenon of a hare flying at his dogs which had caught for him a tiger and a lion. This struck him as most supernatural. On returning from this strange spectacle, he met a hermit, on the banks of the river, called Vidyaranya and related this wonderful event to him. Madhavacharya (for he it was) asked the King to show him the spot, where this prodigy was witnessed. The sage saw the spot with the King and advised him to erect his palace and fort here and foretold that when, built, the city would become the strongest, the wealthiest and the most powerful in the world. "Devaroa lost no time in carrying out the auspicious hint. He built the city, peopled it, and called it 'Vidyajana' in honor of the sage who bade him build it." "The King, says Nuniz—" was now old and did nothing worthy of record during his reign of seven years. "Bucarao son of Dearao succeeded him and ruled for 37 years. He was a powerful Prince, who subdued all the Lords and Vassuals who had rebelled against them, extended his conquests up to Bemgalia (Bengal)." Nuniz gives to "Deoroa a date a century too earlier" and makes it 1280 A. D. Vidyaranya's inscription found in one of the temples at Hampi records the foundation of this city in S. 1253 or 1336 A.D.*

* The verse runs thus "Nagashwarkay, Namita Nripay, Salivahasya yata, Dhaturyabday, Sugnna Sahitay, Mari Vysakhi Namnay, Suklay Pakshay Suraguru yutay Soumya Waray Sulagnay saptamayam Sri Vijayanagar, Nirmay Nirma Mundraha." This means "that on a Wednesday 7th lunar day of the bright half of the month Vysakha, in Dhatus, Saka 1258 (Naga, Ishu, Arka=1358) in a beneficial Lagna with Guru (Jupiter) in it, I—the Prince of ascetics—constructed this city in Vijayanagar—Convent Salivahana Saku by adding 78, into the Christian era, A.D.

Nuniz seems to be quite inaccurate in the dates and names he has given of the early Vijayanagar Princes. The "Raya Vamsavali"—found with the present Raja of Anangondi gives the following particulars; I have quoted them here for ready reference. Omitting all names of doubtful pedigree, I shall commence with Nanda Maharaja, who is said to have ruled in Kishkinda (Anangodi) having fled for political reasons, from his own country of Bahlika, from S. 936 to 993 or 1014 to 1076 A. D. or about 63 years. He ruled over an extensive country, consolidated his power and accumulated vast treasures. He built a city and called it Nandagiri. His son Chalukya was a powerful Prince who ruled from 1076 to 1117 A. D. He had three sons (1) Bijjala Maharaja who went to Kalyanapura and established a separate dynasty (2) Vijayadwaja who succeeded his father Chalukya, and ruled in Anangondi from 1117 to 1156 A. D. During this time he built the city of Vijaya-Nagara or the city of Vijaya. This was probably about the year 1150 A. D. The third son of Chalukya was Vishnu Vardhana about whom "Raya Vamsavali" gives no further information. Messrs. Fleet, Sewell, Rice, Mackenzie and Burnell, show that grants have been made in the name of Vishnu Vardhana about this period. The city of Vijayanagar was built on the southern bank of the Thungabhadra and it was strengthened by Vijayadwaja by strong lines of fortifications round the series of hills which encircled that city. He ruled for 39 years and seems to have been a powerful monarch. As Anangondi was on the northern bank of the Tungabhadra, on the extreme north of the territory of his kingdom, and therefore contiguous to the powerful Mohomedan countries, this king wisely thought that the new city built on the opposite bank of the river, would be much safer for himself—with the deep

a ~~more~~ rapid river between his capital and the Mohomedan invaders—and his descendants to live in, than Anagondi. Since then, Anagondi ceased to be their capital and formed an important suburb of this royal city. Vijayanagar therefore seems to have been in existence for nearly two centuries before it was revived in grander proportions, by the sage Vidyaranya under his honored name of Vidyanagari in 1336 A.D. Anuvema succeeded Vijayadwaja and ruled from 1156 to 1179 A. D. His son was Narasimha Devaraya who ruled from 1179 to 1246 A D. for a long period of 67 years. Mohomedans began to press their conquests on the Deccan, and they naturally called this kingdom—Narasymga—an appellation they easily transferred from the ruler to that of his kingdom. His long reign and powerful administration, gave him ample opportunities to extend his kingdom and beautify the newly built city of Vijayanagar, and at a very early period of the Mahomedan history, they began to hear grand stories of its size, wealth and magnificence. His son Rama ~~Eva~~ succeeded him and ruled for 25 years from 1246 to 1271 A.D. He was followed on the throne by his son Pratapa Raya who ruled from 1271 to 1296 A. D. He was succeeded by his son Jambukeswara Raya who ruled from 1296 to 1334 A.D. He was the last direct Prince of his line and died without issue. The kingdom passed through a terrible state of anarchy. Fortunately for this kingdom a change came over the country, a change worked as it were by a miracle by the Bramin hermit, and a change by which the old dynasty was unseated for over a century and a half, replaced by a new dynasty, which made the empire great and powerful, and whose destinies were guided during the earlier period, by a Brahmin genius of extraordinary merit. This Brahmin was Madhava Bhatta or Madhavacharya—Sayana Madhava—the learned commentator of the four Vedas, and a man of wonderful literary and political talents. He controlled the

ministers to the sovereigns of this new dynasty, for a long period, and conducted the affairs of Vijayanagar with tact, ability and popularity.

CHAPTER III.

VIJAYANAGAR AND VIDYANAGAR.

Their early history and rulers.

It is seen that Anagondi existed as the capital of a long line of rulers, that it had attained to considerable power and wealth, that the last King fell in the citadel of "Crynmata" after a gallant defence, that his ancestors had accumulated large quantities of treasures and concealed them in some secret place and that this secret was given only to the successors on the throne.

According to "*Raya Vamsavali*" when Jambukeswara died issueless, in 1335 A. D. a new dynasty was set up by the Brahmin sage Vidyaranya, called the Yadava Santati headed by the founder Bukkaraya. According to the traditions current all over India, Madhava Bhatta practised severe penance in the Bhuvanasevari Temple at Hampi, to procure wealth. He was informed that wealth would come to him in the next birth. He went, thereupon to Sringeri—seat of a famous mutt then as it is now—and was ordained as its high priest *Jagad Guru Vidyaranya*. (This was a death and a new religious birth. When he heard of the anarchy in Vijayanagar, he returned and set up a new dynasty, there were no scions or kinsmen of the previous monarchs to claim the throne. It is difficult to say who the members of this new dynasty were, whence they came, to which of the royal dynasties they were related, and what political position they held before they were installed into the new dignity of princes of an extensive territory. Different writers give different versions and I shall give a short summary of various traditions current for comparison.

According to *Raya Vamsavali* Vidyaranya revived Vijayanagar in grand proportions—as the city must have been partly ruined by the anarchical state which prevailed there after the death of Jambukeswara and till the foundation of the new dynasty by Vidyaranya. The locative case used by Vidyaranya in the inscription left by him, says clearly that Vijayanagar was there, and in it was revived a grander city called Vidyanagari. Vidyaranya seems to have acted the part of a chief minister for over half a century to the Princes of the new dynasty and under his able guidance and control, the city seems to have risen to great wealth, power and magnificence. Hearing of this splendid city, many foreign travellers, European and Native, came to see it, and all of them have left very graphic accounts of what they saw in this grand and noble city.*

The date given by Nuniz to Devaroa is a century too early, and cannot be reconciled with the established historical evidence. Perhaps he meant 1320, instead of 1230, putting "2" in the second place instead of the "3." In the historical researches, I had to make for the solution of many of these confusing events, it has been found, that the dates of succession given in the *Raya Vamsavali*, have been found to be slightly inaccurate.

A tradition says that two brothers Harihara and Bukka were serving under the king of Warangal in some high capacity. At the time of the destruction of that kingdom by the Mahomedans in A. D. 1323, they fled with a small body of horse and escaped into the hilly country round

* I have seen two seals made of silver, with Sanskrit Devanagari characters on them in the possession of the present Raja of Anagondi, which were formerly used by the sage Vidyaranya in the transaction of state work.

about Anagondi. There they made acquaintance with the sage Vidyaranya and founded the city of Vijayanagar with his help and influence.

Another tradition runs to the effect that these were two brothers, who were officers in the service of the Mahomedan Governors of Warangal subsequent to its capture in 1309. They were despatched by the Mahomedan Governor, under the command of Malik Kaffur in A.D. 1310 against the Hoysala Ballalas who were ruling in great splendour at Dwarasamudra. It was captured, but these two brothers suffered a defeat when they fled, with the army under their command, to the mountainous tracts near Anagondi. There they met the holy Madhava, who was living the life of a recluse. The sage helped the two brothers in establishing a kingdom by his extraordinary learning and influence, and to found the city of Vijayanagar so famous, in after history, for its extent, population, wealth and splendour.

A third tradition makes a slight variation in details from the above. These two brothers after doing distinguished service under the Deccan Mahomedans, repented for having acted against their religious scruples, left their service, fled to the hills round Anagondi, collected forces, and with the help of Madhavacharya (Vidyaranya) succeeded in establishing the new kingdom of Vijayanagar, and built the royal city.

A fourth tradition declares, that two brothers by name Hukka and Bukka, guards of the treasury of Pratapa Rudra of Warangal, came to their spiritual teacher Vidyaranya, who was then the head of the Sringeri-Mutt, and with his financial help and influence founded the city of Vijayanagar in 1336 A. D. Hukka was made the first

king as Harihara I and was succeeded afterwards by his brother Bukka on the throne.

A fifth tradition relates that the great sage Madhavacharya discovered a large quantity of hidden treasure, founded the city of Vidyanagar, after his name, ruled over it himself for some ten years and afterwards left the kingdom to a Kuruba family, who afterwards established a regular line of kings to rule over it.

A sixth tradition, largely current in India, states that when Vidyaranya practiced severe penance, in a cave on the banks of the Thungabhadra, a shepherd named Bukka, used to bring him milk every day and continued to do this useful service for a number of years to the hly Brahmin. When Vidyaranya became Jagadguru, he returned to Hampi and finding anarchy there, with no blood relations of the former dyuasty to claim the throne of Vijayanagar, he sent for this faithful shepherd Bukka and gave him the throne. Bukka afterwards "with the help of Vidyaranya conquered Canara, Telugas, Conjeevaram and the king of the Budagas" and became one of the greatest sovereigns of his time.

A seventh tradition goes on to say that Harihara and Bukka were feudatory princes serving under the Hoysalas, Ballalas and that when they found an opportunity to explore Anagondi and the surrounding hills, they met Vidyaranya and with his advice and help they founded the new city of Vijayanagar and a new dyuasty there. Nikitin the Russiau traveller considers that there were two brothers Harihara and Bukka, that they belonged to the royal house of Kadambas of Banavasi and that he speaks of them as the Hindu Sultan Kadam who resided at Bichenagar.

Here we have a large bundle of stories and traditions, having some general resemblance but varying considerably in their details as regards the foundation of the new dynasty and the new capital.

The readers of this small history will do well to read carefully my bigger work for any detailed information. As the inscription of Vidyaranya is an undisputed recorded evidence, it would be better to give credence to it, until it is overthrown by better documentary evidence. All the current traditions are given here with a view to help the readers in arriving at the right conclusion according to their methods of judgment.

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY OF SOUTHERN INDIA.

Before the Rise of Vijayanagar.

Mauryas, Cholas and Pandyas.

Saka 1258 Dhatu (1336 A. D.) may be safely accepted as the date of the foundation of the new dynasty in Vidyanagar and the revival of Vidyanagar in Vijayanagar. This is supported by old and undisputed inscriptions, and we may safely proceed on this reasonable basis.

Vidyaranya played the most prominent part in the establishment of the new city and the new dynasty. Whoever Harihara and Bukka may have been, they soon rose to such wealth and power, as to come in political contact very soon with the leading royal dynasties in Southern India, and the Mohomedan dynasties pressing from the North. A knowledge of the history of these kingdoms therefore becomes absolutely necessary to understand the causes which helped

the early rulers of Vijayanagar to become so powerful in such an amazingly short time. The whole of Southern India was under the domination of ancient Hindu dynasties so old and hallowed by such numberless traditions, that their origin has never been correctly traced but nevertheless, which are mentioned in Buddistic *rock-cut* edicts some twenty-four centuries earlier. The Rayas of Vijayanagar and most of the South Indian Princes claim their descent from the Lunar dynasty with an admixture of relationship with the solar races of the Ikshvaku Branch. If this is to be believed, then many of these ruling families must have had very chequered careers, sometimes rising to great wealth and power, and as often sinking to the lowest depths of political power and existence. It is strongly alleged by the Hindu Pundits that the direct descent of the lunar line ended with the destruction of the Nava Nandas in Magadha as related in the beautiful Sanskrit drama entitled *Mudra Rakshasa*. Chandragupta was the grandson of Sarvartha Siddi, Maharaja of Patalipura (Patna) by his kept woman Moora Devi. Hence he founded what is called the Mauryan dynasty after the destruction of the Nandas, the legitimate sons of the above monarch. He ascended the throne of Magadha in 322 B. C. ruled 25 years and was followed by Bindusara, his son who mounted the throne in 297 B. C. He ruled for a similar period of twenty-five years and was followed on the throne by the most famous of his line. Asoka Priyadarsin. Asoka seems to have been the greatest emperor in India during the earlier centuries. It is not possible to take an adequate view of the grandeur of his extensive empire after the lapse of twenty-two centuries. He inherited an empire which was far larger than the whole of the British

India now, and which extended from sea to sea. Most of what is called now Afghanistan and portions of Beluchistan were included in his empire. The cities of Cabul, Kandahar Ghazni and Herat were within his territories. Nepal and Cashmere were under his sway and Asoka is remembered as the founder of Srinagar, the present capital of Cashmere. In the 9th year of his reign, Kalinga (Orissa) was completely annexed to his already extensive empire. "The southern limits of the empire are fixed by the occurrence of the Siddha Pura Inscriptions (N. L. 14'-5") and by the enumeration in the edicts of the nations, in the south of the Peninsula, who retained their independence." The Chola kings had their capital at *Uravur* near Trichinopoly and controlled the South Eastern portions of the Peninsula. The Pandyan capital was further South at Madura. The regions between the Western Ghauts and the sea down to Cape Camorin was known as the kingdom of Kerala. Asoka recognises all these and Ceylon as independent. His administration was chiefly marked by the erection of numberless *stupas*. A few of them are found in independent territories where their erection must have been dependent on the goodwill of their princes, induced probably through fear of offending the greatest and most powerful monarch of the age.*

The Pandans and the Cholas seem to have been the earliest dynasties ruling in Southern India. These kingdoms

* "The standing army" observes Vincent Smith "maintained at the king's cost was formidable in numbers, comprising, according to Pliny 600,000 infantry 30,000 cavalry and 9,000 elephants besides chariots and was with reference to the standard of antiquity very highly organised." The ancient city of *Pataliputra* "was a long and narrow parallelogram about nine miles in length and a mile and a half in breadth. The wooden walls described by Megasthenes were pierced by sixty four gates and crowned by five hundred and seventy towers. Asoka built an outer masonry wall and beautified the city with innumerable stone buildings so richly decorated that in after ages they were ascribed to the genii."

are also mentioned by Varahamihiracharya in his famous work entitled *Brihat Samhita* and this great Hindu Astronomer is said to have flourished about the 5th century A. D. Various other documents also prove, without any doubt, that the Cholas and the Pandyan were independent nations in the extreme South of India even long before the Mauryan dynasty made its political appearance. Chalukyas also appear to be on the stage of Southern India at an early period. Without the sketches of these South Indian dynasties the History of Vijayanagar would become hardly intelligible and connected.

The Cholas—The numerous inscriptions discovered in almost all parts of Southern India bear unmistakable testimony to the great political influence, which the Chola Kings exercised at different periods of their existence. The kingdom of Chola forms one of the three principal divisions of Southern India “which existed from the earliest known historical times.” These held the east, the Pandyan the south and the Cheras the west. This distinction appears to have existed as far back as the 4th or 3rd century B C., and is confirmed by Greek historians. Beyond a few references in the edicts of Asoka about the country of the Cholas, their history is almost blank till the days of Raja Raja in the early part of the 11th century A.D. The history of Ceylon furnishes an invasion of that Island by the Cholas in B. C. 247 and it was held by them for 44 years.*

There is some confusion in the Chola descriptions as the reigns of the Chola Kings are dated in the years of their accession. This defect has been partly cured by the discovery

* If this is believed then Cholas had Ceylon as a dependency when Asoka ruled in Hindustan. Asoka died in 232 B. C.

made by Mr. Rice, of inscriptions, which contain in Halakannada characters, Saka dates for several Chela Kings. This "discovery" says Dr. Hultzsch rightly "supplies a great desideratum." Very little is known of the history of Southern India for about 3 or 4 centuries immediately preceding the sudden rise of the Cholas into great power in the beginning of the 11th century. Chalakyan and Pallava inscriptions throw some light on the existence and position of the Cholas as independent kings.

In A. D. 894 Aditya Varma King of the Cholas conquered the Kongu country and they seem to have held that territory till the 10th century. Vikramaditya I of the Western Chalukyas claims to have conquered the Cholas about the latter part of the 7th century. Albiruni states that Tanjore was in ruins at the beginning of the 11th century. Raja Raja one of the greatest monarchs of his age, seems to have restored the fallen city into greatness soon after he succeeded to the throne. In the earlier times, the Cholas were constantly attacking and being attacked by the Pandyans, Pallavas, Chalukyas, Kadambas and other neighbouring nations. Ceylon records speak of three Chola invasions, the last being in 110 A. D. A short time after this a counter-invasion of the Chola kingdom by the Singhalese took place, and there seems to have been constant wars between these two races. In the middle of the 10th century the king of Ceylon sent an army to help the Pandyans who were then at war with the Cholas, but the Pandyans were defeated and the Cholas, in revenge, invaded Ceylon but were beaten back. Early in the 11th century the Eastern Chalukyas appear to have held the Eastern coast from the southern limits of Orissa as far as the borders of the Pallava country. It is reasonable to

suppose that as the Cholas and the Pandyan were contemporaries and that as their kingdoms touched each other they must have been constantly at war with one another. The celebrated king Satyasraya of the Chalukyas, had proposed to himself in the beginning of the 7th century to annihilate the Cholas, but the expedition seems to have been abandoned for some reasons not stated in the inscriptions.*

The Cholas at first seem to have had their capital at "Urayur" close to Trichinopoly, then they transferred it to Mallaipurram (Malakote) and subsequently to Tanjore. The Chola banner had a tiger on it and this design they seem to have taken from the Pallavas. Raja Raja ruled from 1023 to 1064 A.D. for about 41 years. He was a successful conqueror and an able ruler, and the tottering power of the Cholas was, for a time, consolidated and strengthened both by himself and his illustrious son Kullothunga I. Raja Raja owing to an inter-marriage between the Cholas and the Eastern Chalukyas, united the whole of Vengi and Kalinga to the Chola territories.

This powerful monarch invaded Ceylon in A. D. 1050 defeated the Singhalese army, captured its king Mihinda,

*Harshawardhana, Raja of Staneswar (Kurukshtetra), became a very powerful king, and was able to put in the field 60,000 war elephants and 100,000 cavalry. He conquered all Northern India and became lord paramount there, while Pulakesi II or Satyasrya, above referred to, was the most powerful sovereign to the South of the Narmada river. Two powerful lions cannot live in the same forest without coming into contact with each other. Harsha wanted to subdue the Deccan and to become the master of the whole of India. His military prowess, and success, for the first time in his life, received a rude check in his invasion of the Deccan and he was defeated by Pulakesi II, the greatest of the Chalukyan Princes and was compelled to accept the river Narmada as his southern frontier. Probably it was this which may have prevented Pulakesi II from concentrating his irresistible forces on the destruction of the Cholas. See p. 20. H. of the Deccan, by Bhandarkar, p. 236, the Early H. of India, by Vincent Smith.

and sent him with his Queen and crown jewels to the mainland. A Chola viceroy was appointed to govern Ceylon. In 1064 A. D. Kullothunga Chola, one of the greatest princes of his day, ascended the throne of his father and by the union of the Chola and Eastern Chalukyan dominions, he stretched his kingdom up to the borders of Orissa, and also conquered for a time the whole of the Pandyan territories. His illegitimate son Adondai, a brave and successful warrior completely crushed the power of the Pallavas. In the great inscription round the temple at Tanjore, it is stated that the Cholas at the beginning of the 11th century A. D. completely conquered Bengal. The Cholas also seem to have swept over the Western Chalukyan country during the reign of Raja Raja. This huge empire of the Cholas, however was not long destined to remain unbroken. They were soon driven over the Thungabhadra by Someswara I of the Western Chalukyan dynasty and their leader was killed in 1059 or 1060, A.D. The Western Chalukyans, under their powerful king Vikramaditya VI, were constantly at war with the Cholas. Vikramaditya reigned from 1073 to 1126 A.D., for 53 years and he seems to have repeatedly defeated the Cholas and plundered Kanchi. Kullothunga I seems to have conquered Someswara I of the Western Chalukyas, who was called Ahava Malla in a battle near the Thungabhadra. This is recorded in several inscriptions. The conquest of Vira Pandyan by Kullothunga I is supported by fine *sasanas* found in Chidambaram. His younger brother, who seems to have conquered the Gangas of Talakad, was called Gangankonda Chola, and he was placed on the throne of Madura.*

* An inscription at Karur states that Gangankonda Chola was an younger brother of Kullothunga I, and that the latter, on conquering the Pandyan—hence called Madurantaka or Yama to Madura, established him on the Pandyan throne under the title of Sundara Pandya Chola.

Kulothunga held firmly his father's extensive conquests for a time. Kasyapa, son of Mihirinda, beat back the Chola Viceroy from Ceylon but he died soon after to complete the work of conquest he had so well begun. Then the son of the minister Lokeswara seized the Singhalese throne as there were no other claimants to the royal position. He assumed the name of Vijaya Bahu, collected the Islanders and soon commenced fighting. After some desultory warfare, a general action was fought under the walls of Pallanarwa ; the Cholas were defeated and driven into the town. After a seige of six weeks Vijaya Bahu carried the town by storm and the defenders were put to death. His authority was recognised all over the Island. Vijaya Bahu insulted Kulothunga I. by giving preference at his court to the ambassador from Siam, over the ambassador from the Chola Prince. This enraged Kulothunga, a large army was marched on the capital of Ceylon, it was captured and destroyed by the Cholas. Vijaya first fled and lost heart—but soon recovering ; he collected his scattered forces, defeated the Cholas and drove them altogether from the Island.*

* The Mahawanso (great history of the Royal family of Ceylon) relates that Vijaya Bahu was crowned as king of Ceylon in 1071 A.D., that he showed signs of warlike energy, gathered a force, marched against Pallonarwa, defeated the Malabars outside its walls and took the city by storm. King Agrabodhi IV (A.D. 769) found it necessary to fly from the obnoxious invaders, evacuate Anuradhapura the capital of his kingdom and establish a new capital at Pallonarwa. Wijayabahu made grand efforts to raise the city to great magnificence but the Malabars, again defeated him and razed the palace to the ground. He however drove the Malabars (Cholas and specially Pandiyans) and "even perpetrated a short invasion of the Country of his hereditary foes." He died in 1128 A. D. His grandson Prakrama Bahu (Parakrama Bahu—powerful armed) succeeded him on the throne in 1153 and was the greatest Prince of his line. He placed guards round the court, built fortresses of refuge, raised a strong wall round the capital which is said to have enclosed an area 12 miles broad by 30 miles long, built almuries for the poor at the four gates, and a palace for himself with 4,900 apartments and constructed 1,470 new tanks, see pp. 13-15, B. cities of Ceylon by S. M. Barrows, M.A., C.C.S., p. 129 : H. of Ceylon by W. Knighton.

Raja Raja had three sons (1) Kulothunga I, (2) Gungakonda Chola, who afterwards sat on the throne of Madura as Sundaia Pandya Chola and (3) Sarangadhara, who is guessed by European writers to be identical with Sarunga, Rudra Deva, Chauranga, or Chorganga who, summoned from Karnataka by the chiefs of Orissa, founded the Ganga Vamsa family of Orissa in 1132 A. D.*

A few sovereigns seem to have ruled after Kulothunga I, Some inscriptions are found in the latter part of the 12th century in the name of Rajendra Chola, son of Kulothunga II. After him anarchy seems to have prevailed, during which time petty chiefs managed to hold sway over small areas of country, preparing the way for their final overthrow by the Ganapathies of Warangal, who seized and held the country firmly till the 14th century. Sovereignty of the Cholas north of the Pennar came to an end in this way. Inscriptions in the Chingleput District speak of a Chola prince Vijayakonda Gopala as ruling in the middle of the 13th century. Porrapi Chola began to reign in 1286 A.D. and held the remnants of the once powerful Chola empire till the Mussulman invasion in 1310 A. D. when the tottering power of the Cholas seems to have been completely broken. The Mahomedans held the country till 1347 A.D., when they were driven across the Krishna river by a powerful combination of the South Indian Princes under the able generalship

* The extent of the Chola empire in the latter part of 11th and the commencement of the 12th century seems to have comprised almost all Southern India, the Island of Ceylon, regions up to the Krishna river and the territories on the eastern coast up to and even including Bengal. This must have been about three times the size of the present Madras Presidency. The whole of Mysore and countries to the west of it were also under their control. They did not keep this however long, for we soon see that Hoyasalas, Ganapathies of Warangal and the Western Chalukyas wrested large territories from the Cholas and drove them into narrower tracts.

of Prince Krishna from Warrangal. Krishna was ably assisted in this work of driving out the Mussalmans by the new sovereign Harihara I. who was placed on the throne of Vijayanagar by sage Vidyaranya. The generals of Vijayanagar appear to have assumed the name of Odeyars or lords, and as they were entrusted with the command of large and well-disciplined armies, they seemed to have usurped the thrones of the old and dying monarchies, and ruled them under the nominal or real supremacy of the Vijayanagar Emperors, as suited their interests or convenience, till the whole of Southern India was brought under the complete sway of the later Vijayanagar Princes. Kampana, son of Bukkana Odayar, seems to have usurped the throne of the Cholas and established a short dynasty there. Inscriptions found in various localities give him the date A.D. 1377. Aryanna succeeded Kampana and he was succeeded by Virupana. Finally Virupana seems to have been either conquered or superseded by Harihara II of Vijayanagar. The rising power of the Vijayanagar princes was now strongly felt by all the South Indian dynasties and by the beginning of the 15th century, there was no Native state in Southern India, which had retained even the semblance of independent power. Governors and Viceroys were appointed by the Vijayanagar princes to rule over all the important provinces under their immediate control and orders. Thus the kingdom of the Cholas, which had probably existed for over two or three thousand years or even longer, as a separate nation, lost its independence and ceased to be a political power in the annals of Southern India.*

* An inscription dated 1363 A.D. Nunjanagud, records an agreement during the reign of Chikka Kampana Odeyar son of Bukkana Odeyar made by the lords of Thagadur. (See my big history of Vijayanagar, p. 168.) This Kampana was probably the Prince who set up a short dynasty on the Chola throne.

The Pandyans—The kingdom of Pandya seems to have been in existence from time immemorial and it is difficult to say, when and by whom it was originally founded. Many centuries before the Christian era, mention is made of this kingdom in the Puranas, in Bharata, in Bhagavata, in the edicts of Asoka and in the Mahawansao of Ceylon. Megasthenes who visited India in the latter part of the 4th century B.C. makes references to this kingdom.

The Greek geographers notice Pandyan dynasty as specially important among the South Indian States. The next authentic mention of Pandya is in Brihat Samhita of Varaha Mihira, who lived about the beginning of the 5th century A.D. Pliny refers in 77 A. D. to both the city and the country of the Pandyans. Bishop Caldwell is of opinion that the Indian King who sent an embassy to Emperor Augustus at Rome was the then Pandyan monarch. Mr. Sewell observes that "there was probably a Roman Colony settled at Madura. Roman copper coins in considerable numbers have been found in the sandy bed of the river there. Silver or gold coins would indicate commerce, but copper coins seem to imply the residence of traders." Vijaya the first king of Ceylon who landed in the Island at the date of Buddha's Nirvana 477 B. C. married the daughter of the Pandyan King. This proves that the Singhalese in the 5th century B. C. "believed that the Pandyan kingdom was much older than their own." Ceylonese history contains an account of the invasion of their Island by the Pandyans, in A. D. 840, who were brought off with a large ransom. The king of Ceylon invaded the Pandyan kingdom to help the Crown Prince against his father, and Madura was captured and plundered by them. During the 11th and the 12th centuries the Cholas and the Singhalese had constant wars

and the silence of the Ceylon chronicles regarding the Pandyans at this time, affords some proof of the complete subversion of the Pandyans by their neighbours the warlike and enterprising Cholas. After the absorption of the Pandyan kingdom by the Cholas into their own, references to the Pandyans were made only in name as their separate political existence, as a nation, was entirely wiped out. The Chola usurpers were in their turn ousted later on by the then rising Vijayanagar Princes, who were destined finally to absorb all the ancient South Indian kingdoms into their own extensive empire, and thus form a new epoch in the history of Southern India. Fish was the motto of the Pandyan on their banner. From a careful perusal of all the records before us, the Pandyans do not seem to have made very extensive conquests as their enterprising neighbours the Cholas or the Chalukyans did during their greatest periods of power. They seem to have confined themselves to the extreme South of India. A branch of the Pandyan appear to have ruled at "*Uchange Droog*" a strong hill fortress, just over the Northern border of the present Mysore. The latest archeological researches throw some light on the history of these Pandyan princes. These princes, have been declared to belong to the Lunar dynasty. They originally ruled in Hayvi country, one of the seven Konkanas, with their capital at *Sisugali*. A prince named Kamadeva, son of Kama and Bagaladevi, a Rajput princess, was ruling in 1113 A. D. He was lord of Gocarnapura and protector of Konkana Rashtra. An inscription says that Tribhuvana Malla Pandya was ruling in A. D. 1125, the Nolamba Vadi and Santalige Provinces. Jagadaka Mulla Pandya appears to have been ruling in 1149 A. D. He assumes the title—among others, of defater of the designs of Rajendra Chola. The power of

these Pandyan princes, seems to have been finally overthrown by the powerful Hoysala Ballalas of Dwarasamudra. The exact relationship of the Pandyanas of Madura and Uchangidroog, has not yet been determined. Future archeological researches may throw some light on this interesting historical question.*

CHAPTER V.

HISTORY OF SOUTHERN INDIA.

Before the Rise of Vijayanagar.

Pallavas, Chalukyas, Rastrakutas, Kadambas, Ballalas, Gangas, and Yadavas.

THE PALLAVAS.—These were an old dynasty who had established themselves on the East Coast of India. Information is meagre about their early emigration and history. At one time they possessed an extensive kingdom, in the east coast of the Indian Peninsula, and over almost the whole of Deccan. Their northern boundary was the Godavary, and the southern the Chola kingdom. Kanchi formed

* "The name Pandya is not explained by Pauini. Katyayana therefore adds "one sprung from an individual of the tribe of the Pandus or the king of their country shoulud be called a Paudya." Dr. Bhandarkar M. A. ascribes to "Katyayana, the first half of the fourth century before, Christ." It is also stated that Sahadeva subdued the Pandyas, Dravidas Udras, Keralas and Andras and also visited Kiskindha. See M. Bh. Sabha P. Ch 31. Dr. Bhandarkar's E. H. of Dekkan PP. 8-9-10. Early H. of India by V. A. Smith. PP. 336-337. Pliny. Nat. H. Bk. VI Ch. 28-96. Pattanjali seems to have flourished about 150 B.C. and he mentions Pandya by name besides showing intimate acquaintance with the countries of the South. Pandya, Chera, Kerala and Satyaputia appear to have been very old countries which never rose to great political importance but which managed to remain independent for many centuries till they were finally overthrown and erased out of political existence, by the irresistible arms of the conquiring Vijayanagar sovereigns. The pearl fisheries gave the Pandyan king a special source of wealth. Koraki and afterwards Kayal continued to be one of the chief marts of the East for many centuries and the Pandyanas drove a profitable trade.

their capital and their territories expanded or contracted, by the successes or defeats they sustained in the numerous wars which they had to wage against their neighbouring states. Their device was a tiger on their flag. They were a powerful and warlike nation whose conquest or defeat was significantly claimed as a matter of prowess by the Cholas, the Chalukyas, the Gangas, the Kadambas, and the Hoysala Ballalas. Hieun Tsiang visited Kanchi in 640 A. D. and declares the city "to have been six miles in circumference, and the people there to be superior in bravery and piety as well as in their love of justice and veneration for learning, to many others whom he met with in his travels." Sankaracharya preached his philosophy at Kanchi in the latter part of the 7th century.*

An inscription, dated S. 616 (694 A. D.) in the 14th year of the reign of Vinayaditya Satyasrya the W. Chalukyan Monarch, records that the overgrown power of the Thrai Rajjya Pallavas was broken by him and that he entered Kanchi and seized it. This also refers to the defeat of the Pallavas by Vikramaditya I. father of Vinayaditya Satyasrya, and that he received "obeisance from the king of Kanchi who had

* Dr. Burnell makes this statement without quoting any authority. See S. L. Paleo, p. 37 and the learned Doctor assigns to him the latter part of the 7th century (650 to 700 A.D.) also p. 471 M. G. Rice. Mr. Rice tries to give Sankaracharya 787 A.D. as the date of his birth on the strength of the evidence adduced by Patthak in the J. of Br. Bo. R.A.S. XVIII 238. Sankaracharya is given 32 years of life and it is to be inferred in that he died 769 A.D. From the Mutt records kept in the Puja box of the late Sri Narasimha Bharati Swami, the predecessor of the present Jagadguru on the Sriingeri throne, I learn that Sankaracharya was born on the 5th of Vaisaka Sudha of the cyclic year Iswara, and went to Kailasa on the 12th day of the bright half of the lunar month Jaista in the year Soumya of the Vikramasaka 46. Sankara Vijaya by Sri Vidyarenya gives the planetary positions of the sage's horoscope at the time of birth and I would refer the readers to other authorities for fuller information. The wild guesses of the European writers when they cannot comprehend or explain a fact, are often ridiculous and funny.

“bowed to no other.” The Pallavas, it seems, had threatened utter destruction to the family of the Western Chalukyas. Probably this threat, real or imaginary, brought on the powerful Pallavas, the vengeance of the Chalukyas who rose to the highest power under the great Satyasrya and his successors. Sasanas relating to other dynasties frequently mention the Pallavas as being constantly at war with the Chalukyas. The first Eastern Chalukyan Prince gained a portion of Deccan by defeating and intermarrying with the ruling family of the Pallavas. During the reign of Trilochana Pallava, a Chalukyan army crossed the Narbuda under the command of Jayasimha. He lost his life in the battle with the Pallavas, and his widow, then pregnant, fled and took shelter with a Brahmin ^{these} Vishnu Somayaje and gave birth to Rajahsimha, ^{on the E} afterwards, defeated the Pallavas and married one of their Princesses. The early Kadambas appear to have established their power by defeating the Pallavas. Kadamba Prince Mrigesavarma, defeated the Pallavas and Gangas, and his son Ravi Varma established himself and re-established his family at Palasika by defeating Chandadanda, the lord of Kanchi. This victory, was obtained probably at the close of the 5th century A.D. Durvaniti, King of Kongu Desa conquered Dravida (Kanchi) and the fourth from him Kongu Mahadiraja III again conquered it. Early in the 7th century the Pallavas were driven out of their northern possessions by Kubja Vishnu Vardhana, who founded the Easteru Chalukyan dynasty.*

*There appears to be some confusion in the dates, relationship and order of succession among the early monarchs of the Chalukyan kingdom and the reader is referred to my bigger work for a full discussion of this subject. Jayasimha, Ranurga, Kirtivarma, Rajahsimha, Vinayaditya, Mangalesa, Pulikesi and Vikramaditya, have been confusingly introduced. A careful perusal of the works of Messrs. Sewell, Rice, Vincent Smith and Drs. Bhandurkar, Burnell, Fleet and Mackenzie leads the readers to further confusion.

Satyasrya or Pulikesi II, the great Chalukyan monarch drove the Pallavas behind the walls of Kanchi and Vikramaditya I, his second son and successor, though at first unsuccessful against the Pallavas, finally overthrew them, stormed and captured Kanchi their capital. Chalukyan inscriptions further show that Vikramaditya II made war on the Pallavas, defeated and killed their king Nandipotarma and entered Kanchi in triumph. Prince Hemasitala of the Pallavas seems to have expelled the Buddhists from Kanchi in A.D. 788. They took shelter in Ceylon where their religion found a strong centre. Rashtrakuta inscriptions say that their King Dhruva humbled the pride of the Pallavas and Govinda III, one of the greatest of their princes, claims to have conquered Dantiga King of Kanchi.*

An inscription assigned to Malla Nundi Pallava Varma states that he had war with Udayana, King of the Saharas, Prithvi-Vyaghra, King of Nishada (on the slopes of the Vindya mountains) and the Pandyan King of Madura. But what were the results of these wars, have not been stated.†

An undated inscription of Anaji says that Krishna Varma, probably a Kadamba Prince, was thoroughly defeated by the Pallava Raja Nanaksha. The defeat was

* See pp. 50-57. E. H. of the Dekkan, Bhandarkar, pp. 307-325. M. G. Rice.

Vani Dindodari and Radhaupur grants. R. A. S., Vol. V, Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, pp. 65-68, p. 354. E. H. of India, V.A. Smith, XI, Ind. Ant. 126.

Mackenzie Collection, I-LIXV.

Fleets' Kanarese Dynasties, p. 34.

Sewell's S. I. Ant. Vol. II, p. 213.

† Foulkes, Ind. Ant., VIII, pp. 273-284.

so crushing that Sivananda Varma—perhaps a son of Krishna Varma, although distinguished himself by many acts of bravery in the war, retired from the world and took to severe penance.*

In the beginning of the 9th century, Nolamba or Nonamba became interchangeable with the name Pallavas as they were ruling in the Nonambavadi thirty-six thousand Province. Sripurnsha, one of the greatest of the Ganga Princes gained a decisive victory over the Pallavas, captured their royal umbrella and assumed the title of Permavadi which he took away from the King of Kanchi. This title has been used by all the subsequent Ganga Kings. A little later, the Rashtrakutas became the supreme rulers in Southern India and the Pallavas governed certain provinces under them. An inscription (dated 1022 A. D.) mentions that Jagadaka Malla Nolamba Pallava was ruling under the Chalukya King Jayasimha Deva. Another Sasana says that this Pallava Prince was called Udayaditya and the seat of his government was in Kampili on the Thungabhadra.†

In the 11th century the Pallava power was finally overthrown by Adondai, the illegitimate son of Kulot-

* See No. 161, Davenagere. E. O. Rice.

The inscription is in cave characters and Mr. Rice assigns to it A.D. 450.

From a careful perusal of the Kadamba inscriptions and history, Krishna Varma appears to have flourished much earlier than the date assign to him by Mr. Rice. The event may have taken place about the middle of the fourth century A. D.

† I have read the original inscription and find Kapila as the seat of the Prince and not Kampila as mis-stated by Mr. Rice in his introduction. There is no reference as to its sitpation on the Thungabhadra or to any other river. It is difficult to identify Kapila. The year given is S. 944 1022 A. D.) Dundubhi. See No. 10 Molkalmuru, E. O. Rice.

tunga I, and Kanchi became the capital thenceforward of the Chola Province called Thondamandalam.

An inscription, under date 1074 A. D. introduces Pallava Jayasimha the younger brother of the Chalukyan Emperor Vikramaditya Tribhuvana Malla, perhaps by a Pallava mother. He there assumes all the imperial titles. Another inscription, dated 1205 A. D. says that a Pallava Prince by name Mache Deva was ruling in Holalkerenad. With the overthrow of the Kanchi Pallavas the Nolambavadi Pallavas seem also to have lost much of their original political significance and to have struggled for a century or more to keep up their existence as minor Princes under the Chalukyan and Hoysala conquerors. During the 12th and 13th centuries the Pallava chiefs sank into the position of simple feudatory nobles and officers in the service of the local kingdoms, and it is on record, that the Pallava Raja took precedence among the feudatories of Vikrama Chola early in the 13th century.*

THE CHALUKYAS.—These were almost contemporary with the Cholas and Pandavas of the south and played very prominent parts in the political drama of the Deccan and Southern India. It may also be safely stated that their influence was at one time profoundly felt in Northern India, when Harsha Vardhana, King of Kanuj—who, in course of time, had made himself the paramount Emperor of the North—endeavoured to extend his territories to the south of the Narmada—and was opposed by Pulakesi II, who killed many of his generals and defeated his army. In the middle of the 4th century they seem to have attained to great power in the Karnatic. There is a fine inscrip-

* See Ind. Ant. XXII., 148.

tion by Pulekesi son of Jayasimha, dated 489 A.D. Their geneology gives 59 princes of whom 43 ruled in Ayodhia and 16 in the Karnatic. Hemasena, who married a local Princess, was probably the founder of this dynasty. Nagavipati—their first capital—was situated near the Bhima a tributary of the Krishna. As they rose in power they removed the capital to Kalyan which became a famous city. The Yeoor (Yevur) inscription records supremacy of the Chalukyas over the Cholas, the Pandavas and the Andhras. The Chalukya Princes for a time had very extensive territories, being lords supreme over the whole of the Deccan, and Southern India. They were magnificent temple builders, and many of their most valuable edifices in Western and Southern India, bear their dynastic emblem the "Boar." The beautiful excavations at Ellora seem to have been ascribed to the liberality and patronage of the Chalukyan Princes. Fourth and fifth centuries were bright periods in their annals. During the 6th century their power seems to have declined gradually under attacks by the Cholas from the south, by the Yadavas from the north and by the Andhras from the east. Vijayaditya (Jeyasimha) came to the south in search of power, and lost his life in a battle. His widow, then carrying some months, fled and took refuge in a Brahmin's house and gave birth to a posthumous son named Vishnu Vardhana. He acquired sovereignty, made extensive conquests and strengthened his authority by marrying a Pallava Princess of Kanchi. His son was Vijayaditya and his son was Pulekesi Vallabha. His grandsons separated and became ancestors of the Western and Eastern Chalukyas respectively. Pulekesi I is alleged to have performed Aswamedha (horse sacrifice) and must have been therefore lord paramount of an extensive country.

He made Vatapipura (Badami) his capital and seems to have been the first great Prince in his family. The subsequent Princes trace their geneology to him. His son Kirtivarma succeeded him on the throne. As then the sons of Kirtivarma were young, his younger brother Mangalesa succeeded him. This was also a great Prince. He conquered Revatidwipa, the Matangas, the Kalachuris and part of the Konkonas. Kirthivarma appears to have reigned 24 years from 567 to 591 A.D. Mangalesa ruled for about 20 years from S. 513 to 532 (591 to 610 A. D.) Satyasya or Pulekesi II son of Kirtivarma, after overcoming many intrigues which his uncle advanced to exclude him from the throne, appears to have succeeded on the throne of his father. He was a vigorous, active and warlike Prince, and soon brought about the destruction of his hereditary enemies. He was the most powerful emperor in the Chalukyan dynasty and assumed the impartial title of Satyasya Sri Prithivi Vallabha Maharajah, Rajah Parameswara. From various inscriptions, he appears to have subdued the Manryas of Koukan, conquered the Latas, frightened the Malwas and the Gurjaras. He reduced the fortress of Pista-pura, acquired the sovereignty of Maharastra, terrified the Kosalas and Kalingas, drove the Pallavas behind the walls of Kanchi and prepared to conquer the Cholas with a large army. A very interesting account of his reign is given by Hiuen Tsiang, the great Chinese Traveller. With a fleet of many ships he attacked Puri, which was the mistress of the eastern maritime trade, and reduced it. He defeated Harsha and his vast hordes of elephants and horses and

kept a large force on the banks of the Narmada to guard his northern frontiers.*

The Chalukyan supremacy for a time seems to have been interrupted by the Trai Pallava confederacy. Satyasrya was succeeded by Vikramaditya I. He appears to have broken the Pallava power. Devasakti, King of the Sandrakas, is stated by a Sasana, to have been his vassal. His son Vinayaditya who ruled from 680 to 697 A.D. crushed the power of the Pallavas and seized their capital Kanchi. He possessed almost the whole of Dekkan and extended his conquests southwards. After three or four reigns with varying fortunes, the power of the Chalukyas seems to have collapsed by the revolts of the feudatories and the pressure of the Yadavas of Devagiri and Hoysalas Ballalas from the south. Tilla II seems to have revived the Western Chalukyan kingdom, but the territories ruled by the Princes of the new dynasty were considerably reduced in size. Jayasimha II appears to have overthrown a confederacy of the Malvas and to have fought against Cholas and Cheras. Someswara or Ahavamalla II first drove back the Cholas but was subsequently defeated by the Great Chola King Kailotunga I. Vikramaditya IV was a powerful and vigorous Prince who ruled from 1075 A.D. to 1126 A.D. He had to fight many hard battles and was engaged in per-

* See, Ind. Ant. Vol. VIII p. 241.

J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. X pp. 365-366.

Ind. Ant. Vol. III, p. 305. Vol. X p. 57. Vol. VI, p. 73 Vol. I, p. 363. Vol. VII, p. 168.

For the position of the countries see Dr. Bhandarkar's E. H. of the Dekkan pp. 6 to 9.

P. 319 to 322 M. G. Rice.

The Kingdoms of Dekkan pp. 324-35 of V. A. Smith.

petual struggles both with his relations at home and his numerous enemies abroad.*

The Chalukyan territories were invaded during the latter part of Vikramaditya's reign, by Prince Vishnuvardhana of the Hoysalas assisted probably by the Kings of Pandya, Goa and Konkan.†

Achagi was a dependent chief ruling in the south and he was deputed against these enemies. He seems to have fought many hard battles for his master Vikramaditya and distinguished himself greatly in his military campaigns.

From this period the Chalukyans lost much of their power, as it had been rudely shaken by Bijjala the Kalachuri. Though Someswara IV revived its falling power for a few years, the rise of the Ganapathies of Warangal and the Ballalas of Dwarasamudra seems to have sealed the fate of the Western Chalukyas, for nothing is heard of them after A. D. 1189.

The Eastern Chalukyas.—Hitherto our history referred to the Western Chalukyas whose greatest sovereign undoubtedly was Satyasya or Pulakesi II. His brother Vishnuvardhana separated from him and established a separate dynasty in Vengi in A.D. 609, whose king Salankayana was conquered and dethroned. This dynasty extended its conquests

* Dr. Bhandarkar calls him Vikramaditya II. His father Ahavamalla (Someswara I) founded the city of Kalyan and removed his capital there. See Bih. Vick. V 26-89.

Dr. Bh. E. II. of the Dekkan, p. 64 R. Sewell. S.I.A. Vol. II, p. 150.

V. A. Smith E. H. of Ind. p. 329.

Ind. Ant., Vol. IV, p. 208, Vol. V, p. 175

M. G. Vol. I, p. 327 Rice.

† Vishnuvardhana ruled from 1104 to 1141 A. D. at Dwarasamudra (Halabeda) as his capital.

gradually to the frontiers of Orissa, fixed its capital at Rajamahendra on the Godavary and ruled Kalinga Desa for four centuries. According to the different genealogies given by archeologists, about 20 Princes ruled here after the founder, and this brings the reader to the 11th century A. D. A prince named Vimaladitya of this line married Kundava or Kuudamba daughter of Raja Raja Chola and sister of Rajendra Chola. This union brought him into closer contact with the conquering Cholas and perhaps strengthened his position for a time. Raja Raja, his successor, married Rajendra Chola's daughter Iromanga in 1022 A. D. and their son was Raja Narendra, mentioned as the patron by Nannaya Bhatta in his Telugu Mahabharata. There appears to be much confusion in the names of the Chalukyan and Chola Princes. Sarangadhara is mentioned as the son of Raja Narendra but he is also made to appear as the brother of Kullatunga I. He probably was the founder of the new dynasty in Orissa called the Gangavamsa Princes. The mutual marriages seem to have continued for four or five generations in the two Royal families giving rise to confusion in names and naturally allowed their interests to merge into one another, and the two for a time amalgamated into a strong dynasty. Vengi became thenceforward a Chola Province. During the 12th and the 13th centuries the Ganapathies of Warangal were acquiring great power in the territories of the Chalukyas and they finally seem to have ejected these Chola-Chalukyas about the year A. D. 1228.

THE HOYSALA BALALAS.—This was a powerful branch of the Yadava family which rose to great prominence in the beginning of the 11th century and ruled independently

till about the commencement of the 14th century when its power was overthrown by the Mohomedan invaders from the North. During their greatest prosperity, Dwarasamudra (modern Halabedu) in Mysore was their capital. Their territories were extensive and they built very magnificent temples. Those which were constructed during the time of King Vishnuvardhana at Belur and Halabedu are excellent specimens of Indian architecture. An inscription, dated 1224 A.D. found in the Harihar temple contains important details of great interest as regards the origin and pedigree of the Hoysala Princes. "From Yadu came the Yadavas. In it was born Sala who along with the Muni was worshipping the celebrated Vasanteke of Sasakapura, free from fear, in order to obtain all royal power; when lashing the ground with the end of its tail, emitting sparks of fire from its eyes, bursting with rage, with the tongue having out like a river of flame, a tiger suddenly sprang forth roaring with terrific noise. On the Muni saying Hoy-Sala-(strike-Sala) that tiger he hit it with the sele (cane) killed it and became Hoysala." The great grandsons of Sala, were Ballala, Bitti Deva, and Udayaditya. Bitti Deva was the famous Vishnuvardhana. From him and Lakshimi Devi sprang Narasimha, his son was Vira Ballala II and he appears to have been a very powerful warrior, who made many conquests, extended his territories in all directions, and must naturally have been the terror of his enemies. The king of Sevannu came with an army of 200,000 infantry armed with, thunderbolts (fire arms) and 12,000 well mounted cavalry. Ballala defeated them with great slaughter and drove the enemies beyond the river Krishna. He also appears to have broken a powerful combination of the neighbouring Princes and to

have captured the forts within Erambarage, the honoured Virata's fort, Gunti, Bellutagi, Rattipalle, Sonavattu and Karugod. His son was Narasimha II, who, like his father, was also a great conqueror. He defeated Vikramapala and Pavasa in one direction and made in another direction, Kadavaraya, Magara and Pandya, roll on the ground. Pleased with the Chola, he placed the crown on his head, set up a pillar of Victory in Sethu (Ramaswaram). Probably these Hoysala Princes were for a time feudatories of the Kala-charis, whom they succeeded on their downfall. Sala ruled from 984 to 1043 A.D. 59 years. Ballala I seems to have defeated the Santara king Jagadeva. Ramanujacharya, the founder of the Visistadwaitha sect, converted Vishnuvardhana into Vaishnavism. Vishnu Vardhana ruled probably from 1104 to 1141 A.D. His son Narasimha I ruled from 1141 to 1171 A.D. His son Vira Ballala II defeated the Kalachuris and assumed all the royal titles. Inscriptions of his reign are found up to 1224 A.D. and thus he ruled a little over half a century. There seem to have been bloody battles between the Yadavas of Dwarasamudra and Devagiri. During the reign of Bhillama attempts were made to extend his territory further southwards. But these were strongly opposed by Vira Ballala who was pushing his conquests Northwards. This was a contest for the possession of an empire. Several bloody battles took place between the Yadavas of Devagiri and the forces of Vira Ballala. Eventually a decisive engagement was fought at Lakkundi Dharwar Dt. in which Jaitrasimha, probably son of Bhillama was defeated with great slaughter and Vira Ballala became complete master of Kuntala. His successor Narasimha II appears to have been defeated by the Yadavas of Devagiri. An inscription dated 1252 A.D.

states that he resided in Vikramapura a capital he had established in the Chola country. A valuable inscription dated 1158 A. D. brings us to Narasimha III. Soma, born of Brahma's feet (Sudra) who built the temple of Sommatha Pura which is "justly celebrated as one of the best remaining temples of the Chalukyan style" was his able minister and general. His valour is much extolled and his charities are described as boundless. The inscription at Somnathapura, dated 1276 A. D. gives the geneology of the Hoysalas as well as that of their great minister Soma. Then came Vira Bellala III who seems to have continued up to the invasion and capture of Dwarasamudra by the Mohomedans from the north. An inscription dated 1291 A. D. says that this Prince was setting at right some irregularities which had sprung up in the temple of Kirti Narayana at Raja Rajapura, or Talakad. In 1310 A.D. Malik Kafur, their irresistible Mohomedan General invaded the south with 100,000 horse and a host of infantry and swept everything before him. Dwarasamudra was captured and sacked and Bellala seems to have been first captured but subsequently released and allowed to retain a nominal power over his reduced territories. In an inscription dated 1363 A. D. it is stated that this king died fighting against the Turukas (Mussalmans) with Kanakaya in the field of battle in A.D. 1342 in the capture of Beribi. Probably this nominal rule of the Hoysalas continued up to 1387 A. D. for we read of the rebel nephew of Mohomed Toglak Bahud-din flying to the Hoysala King at Dwarasamudra or Tonnur for protection, who wisely handed him over to the Emperor of Delhi. An inscription dated 1341 A. D. is assigned to Bellala III and we find another grant made by his son Bellala IV or Vajraswara

in the year 1343 A.D. This was seven years after the establishment of the new dynasty of Sangama at Vijayanagar, by Vidyaranya. This seems to have been the last grant made by the Hoysalas, as they did not maintain any longer the remnants of their political power. With the decline of their power they seem to have shifted their capital, first to Vikramapura and then to Tonnur near Mysore. Probably Bellala IV sent a contingent to help the great Hindu confederation, "that stemmed the current of Mussalman success and effectually checked for two centuries their advance southwards." Hoysalas seem to have occupied a place as it were between the Cholas and the Chalukyas and the numerous inscriptions show that they had to maintain constant warfare with both of them. Temples erected by both dynasties bearing their emblems, the boar of the Chalukyas and the tiger of the Hoysalas are found in the same localities, thereby denoting their alternate possession of power. Bellalas, at first had their capital at Lakhoondy in Dharwar but later on they retired to Dwarasamudra. In the beginning they professed Jainism but were subsequently converted by Ramanuja to Vaishanavaism. As the ancient dynasties were fast dying, large facilities for the establishment of the new were afforded and the early Vijayanagar Princes, were keen enough to turn them to their own advantage and aggrandisement of power and succeeded in establishing one of the grandest and the richest empires in the world through the active help of a Brahmin sage called Vidyaranya.

THE KADAMBAS.—This royal family certainly appears as one of the most ancient of the Southern dynasties. They were ruling in Vanavasi (Banavasi). Ptolemy mentions the name of Trinetra Kadamba in 168 A.D. A memorial ins-

cription of the family recounts succession contemporary with the Chalukyas claiming independence at the period of the foundation of the Chalukyan power. Mayura Sarma the alleged founder introduced the Brahminical faith into the South and tracts surrounding Banavasi formed their kingdom. Owing to their maritime position they were probably known well to the early Greek navigators. There were three families under this name the most ancient being called Kadambas and the other two Kādambas. The Talagunda inscription declares that there was a family of very devout Brahmins, Haritaputras of the Manavyagotra. They took a special care of a Kadamba tree near their home, and so acquired later on their name together with its qualities. One of that family Mayura Sarma (Varma) went to Kanchi for study. Apparently a dispute arose between him and the Pallava Princes about their stables. He was insulted in the course of this discussion and, being enraged, took a vow to become a Kshatrya, learn to use the weapons and take revenge upon the Pallavas. He fled to the forest, trained himself in the military arts of the day, collected a large number of followers, invaded the Pallava kingdom and defeated their king. The Pallavas were compelled to recognise him as a king and gave him the sovereignty of a territory extending from the Western ocean to the borders of Malwa. Shantivarman 6th in descent from the traditional founder ruled probably about the latter part of the 5th century. The Chalukyas in the 6th century seem to have dealt a hard blow to the independence of the Kadambas. But there were many branches of this ancient royal family who were ruling as feudatories in different parts of the country, down to the time of the foundation of the Vijayanagar empire in the 11th century. The Cholas, the Chalukyas and the Hoysalas appear to have been their overlords.

CHAPTER VI.

HISTORY OF ORISSA AND WARANGAL.

Before the rise of Vijayanagar.

Kings of Orissa.

These two kingdoms do not properly belong to the south, but the rulers of Vijayanagar had much to do with these countries and therefore a short sketch of their history becomes necessary to understand clearly the affairs of Vijayanagar. Orissa is an old Kingdom whose Princes claim direct descent from the Pandus and if reliance can be placed upon documentary and traditional accounts, they seem to have kept on their power for several thousands of years through very great political convulsions. The chronicles of Orissa are based upon the—"palm-leaf" record preserved in the famous temple at Jagannatha, Stirling's Essays and posthumous papers and the traditions all over those parts of India where their sway extended at one or other of the periods of their existence. The periods ascribed to the earlier Princes extend beyond the historical standards of accuracy, but the readers here have to make their own guesses. In the 1st century after Christ these fabulously long periods are forsaken and normal periods are introduced. After the great war of Mahabharata, Yudhistara (Dharma Raja) ruled for 12 years. About 11 Princes are introduced after him, whose rules extend over hundreds of years. Parikshit and Janamajeya seem to have ruled for about 1283 years. After them Sunkara Deva and Gautama ruled for 770 years. Then came Mahendra Deva who ruled for 215 years and built the city of Raja Mahendri. The Kaliyug of the Hindu astronomers commenced about 31 centuries before Christ ;

Raja Mahendri, therefore seems to be a very ancient city, having been founded about 9 centuries before the Christian era. After them came Ishta and Sevaka Devas, who reigned for about 234 years. Bajra and Narasimha Devas ruled for about 232 years and Orissa was invaded during this period by the Yavanas from Babul, Marwar and Delhi. They were however repulsed. Mai Krishna Deva ruled for 122 years and he had to fight very hard battles in order to keep off the Yavanas who were pressing from Cashmere. Bhogi Deva succeeded him and ruled for 127 years. He was a very powerful and warlike monarch, who conquered all India and drove off the Northern Yavanas. Then come Vikramaditya and Sakaditya who ruled for 185 years from B.C. 57 to A.D. 78. Vikramaditya was a powerful emperor, a great conqueror and a generous patron of literature and sciences. He subdued all India and was the first great emperor who succeeded in establishing an era after his name called the Samvat, which prevails all over Northern India. An authentic event connected with his reign was an invasion of Western India by the Tucchae or Huns about B.C. 26. They were defeated in a great battle by Vikram but they held Western India for about two and a half centuries more. Early in the fourth century A.D. Rakta Bahu invaded Orissa and defeated its king Shoban Deva who ran away to the jungles with the images of Jaganatha, Balaram and Subhadra and buried them there.

The Yavanas were now firmly seated and ruled on the throne of Orrissa nearly for a century and a half.*

* Stirling quotes no authority for his statement that these Yavanas were Buddhists. They may have been a colony of Javanese conquerors, who invaded the East-Coast, defeated the king of Orissa and ruled there for more than a century. Buddhism had made great progress in the Eastern

Yayati Kesari defeated the Yavanas and founded the Kesari Dynasty. He reigned for over half a century, brought back the images from the Jungles to Puri and built the temple city to Siva at Bhuvanashwar. Kundala Kesari (811 to 829 A. D.) built the ancient temple of Markandeswara in Puri. Nripakesari (941 to 953 A. D.) founded the city of Cuttack. His successor Makara Kesari built the long and massive stone revetment to protect this city from the inundations of the Mahanady.

Madhava Kesari (971 to 989 A. D.) built the fortress of Sarangarh. Suvarna Kesari (1123 to 1133 A. D.) died childless and the Kesari dynasty came to an end being replaced by the Ganga Vamsa Princes, the founder being Chora Ganga, brother of Kullottanga I, the famous Chola emperor.

In this line arose Ananga Bhima Deo (1175 to 1202 A. D.) who was a great statesman, who perfected the internal administration and who made a Survey of his whole kingdom, measuring it with reeds. He also built the present beautiful temple of Jagannath. He was one of the greatest princes and his memory is even now cherished for his numerous improvements in the state. Langulia Narasimha (1237 to 1262 A.D.) built the great temple at Karnak, commonly known as the Black Pagoda.

Pratapa Rudra Deva (1504 to 1532 A. D.) was compelled to marry his daughter to Krishna Devarayalu, one

countries and the term Yavanas, may simply imply Javanese. Even now there are extensive remains of Hindu and Buddhist temples in Java, and the Island of Bali close to Java, contains ruins of Hindu temples and its inhabitants still profess Hinduism—a significant fact to be noted by European historians.

of the greatest Emperors of Vijayanagar and was allowed to rule under him as a tributary prince.

But the supremacy of the Princes of Orissa, was early shaken by Devaraya I and II and they governed more or less as feudatories of this great Empire from the middle of the 14th century.

GANAPATHIES OF WARANGAL.

Warangal has a peculiar interest in the history of Vijayanagar, for, according to traditional accounts, the founders of the Sangama Dynasty Hakka and Bukka were considered to be fugitive officers or princes from the court of Warangal. If so, they are directly connected with that Royal family or its administration. The Kings of Warangal began to rise to pre-eminence early in the 12th century and continued to be in power for about two centuries till they felt the warlike shocks of the Mahomedan invaders from the North. They lost much of their greatness but managed to keep a semblance of power for about a century or so after which we hear of them no more. Warangal is alleged to have been built by one of the Princes of the Andhra Dynasty and its Princes seem to have wielded ordinary power for about 10 or 12 centuries after its foundation when they rose to great wealth and importance. The first King of Warangal conquered the Cholas and married a princess from the royal line of Ceylon. His two grandsons ruled at Naudur on the Godavary. About ten Princes are alleged to have ruled before Prola Raja about whom we have definite accounts. His son was Pratapu Rudra I and his son was Ganapathy Deva. An inscription dated 1052 A.D. mentions Pratapu Rudra I. He must have been a famous and

of Toglok after his accession to the throne of Delhi was to send a strong army against Warangal. This however was first unsuccessful. In 1323 A.D. a powerful Mohomedan army marched on Warangal, captured it and took Pratapa Rudra II as prisoner to Delhi. His son Krishna succeeded him, but ruled over considerably reduced territories.

He revolted in 1344 A.D.; made a grand confederacy of the Hindu Princes, in which Harihara I of Vijayanagar seems to have assisted with troops and money, fought against the Mohomedans and drove the Mussalmans out of the Deccan. No attempts appear to have been made by the Kings of Delhi to recover their lost power in the Deccan for some time. In 1353 A.D. Mohomed Shah Bahamini plundered the country up to Warangal and retired from it on being paid a heavy ransom. Vinayaka or Nagadeva, Krishna's son, was defeated and cruelly murdered in 1371 A.D. by the Mohomedans. The Hindus however so harassed the Mussalmans in their retreat that only a third of their number reached Gulberga. The Raja (Krishna) vainly tried to induce the King of Delhi to attack the Bahamini but on being attacked again by the Bahamini Prince submitted and handed over an immense treasure. A treaty was patched up and the boundaries for the two kingdoms were fixed. In 1424 Ahamed Shah of Bahamini made war on Warangal and killed the Raja. Thus ended the ancient kingdom of Warangal.

CHAPTER VII.

STATE OF CIVILISATION DURING THE EARLY TIMES.

The historian of India has great difficulties in the collection of correct materials for his sketches of Indian nations and

the high state of civilisation which attended their careers. Fragments of records, left by the early Greek writers, cannot be accepted as gospel truths, for various reasons. They found in India a far higher state of civilisation, and labouring, as they did, under complicated linguistic difficulties, they were not in a capacity to correctly understand the nature of a civilisation and polity, which was quite foreign to their own in many important respects. Mahomedans were better, but their implacable hatred towards the infidels and their religious bigotry, and conceit, incapacitated them from being historians of facts which they saw and events in which they largely participated. They all speak highly of Indian resources, civilisation and prosperity of the people. The sweeping remark often levelled against the Hindus as wanting in historical faculty appears to be unreasonable when read in the light of numerous inscriptions which have been discovered all over the Indian Peninsula, and the valuable information they give for the compilation of the histories of the various political dynasties who held sway in different parts of India. These simple materials having fallen into the hands of men who are unfamiliar with the language in which they are written, and ignorant of the details of life and conditions under which they were engraved, have been introduced in such a confusing way by some of the archeologists that for men who enter the new historical fields everything appears in hopeless confusion, and irremediable contradiction. Facts however are not so. There are, now discovered, more inscriptions in the south than in the north of India. Temples and other public and private charitable institutions seem, as it were, repositories of the ancient historical lore. European, and Asiatic travellers give graphic

particulars in the annals of Vijayanagar, that many of them look quite incredible, and even sober-minded readers of their accounts, will be often tempted to consign them to the mystic records of the ancient past. It would therefore be highly profitable to take a survey of the early civilisation, which existed in India and also which obtained among the different nations of the world.

Strong and learned discussions, off the track, can serve no good purpose ; on the other hand they are mischievous in taking away the readers from long established truths, and making them more confounded than before in their views on ancient events. Patient study, familiarity with the languages of the sasanas and vast information about the religious and social observances of the Hindus alone seem to assist the archeologist in securing true historical information. Many of the archeological researches hitherto have been more subversive of historical truths, than conducive to revive them. Leaving remote antiquity to take care of itself we shall examine the state of civilisation and material progress in the earlier centuries before and after Christ. India had attained to a very high state of civilisation, before Europe woke up from its barbarity, when Greece and Rome were not even heard of. Aryans were found largely distributed in the northern regions of India many centuries before their emigration to the south. This rush of the Aryans from the north may have been necessitated either by pressure of the fresh hordes of Aryans or by love of greed and political power. Their conquests in the south seem to have been secured at great cost of life and personal hardships. The less civilised nations, finding resistance hopeless, seem to have reconciled themselves to this fate by an entire submission afterwards.

In Ramayana, we see a highly civilised Aryan Nation invading the kingdom of Lanka ; and the king and people of Lanka possessing an equally high state of civilisation in architecture, polity, sciences, literature and religious codes. It is very aptly remarked that, " Ravana was a foe quite worthy of Rama." In the Mahabharata, South Indian Princes played no insignificant parts. The Pandus in their wanderings had much to learn and admire in the southern kingdoms of India. In the 3rd century B.C. Asoka found highly civilised nations in the south and the Princes there were able to maintain their independence even as against a formidable Emperor like Asoka, Priyadarsi. The immortal Budha travelled to the South and found large and appreciative audiences there. The great Adwaitha Philosopher Sankaracharya hailed from the south and revolutionised the religious thought of the world. Ramanujacharya, the founder of the famous Visistadwaitha sect was a native of Southern India. Madhava Vidyaranya came from Vijayanagar itself and gave to the cultured humanity the greatest boon in the shape of Veda Bhashyas which any single scholar could give to his contemporaries or succeeding generations. Many of the Tamilian Vedantic writers—Avayyar, Tiruvalluvar, Nakkeerer—of extraordinary merit were equally the products of the south Indian soil. The temples in S. India are the wonders of Indian architecture.

The series of artificial tanks speak highly of the industry and intelligence of the hands which raised them. Arts, manufactures, commerce, sciences and literature flourished to a remarkable extent. Medical science attained to a high state of perfection which was much extolled by the early Greek writers. Public charitable hospitals and institutions became almost a

main with the people of the early times. Mr. Taylor observes "literature and the science of astronomy, mathematics and logic as well as religious and metaphysical philosophy had attained their greatest height, long before the Christian era." He further observes, "the people were civilised, and as far as can be ascertained content and prosperous." There were powerful monarchies in the South. The ambassadors sent to the native Princes by the different European Courts, speak eloquently of the commercial instincts, the early people of India possessed. The art of temple-building was carried on to great perfection.

Their style was confirmed and their ornamentation richer and of a more distinct character. As a higher proof of their early civilisation it may be added that artificial irrigation of the soil had been commenced upon a scale of extended usefulness, which existed in no country, except Babylon. In this particular the people of the south left those of the north behind. From very early times, the history of the Carnatic is of all, the clearest and is well illustrated by the inscriptions of the ruling families. The country was well cultivated and thickly populated and the coast afforded means of communication by sea with Egypt and Arabia. From before the Christian era, up-to the 7th century, the Jain faith largely prevailed, and its "richly decorated temples remain as proofs, not only of the highest architectural skill of the period, but of a refinement in taste, which perhaps stand almost unrivalled." Village communities were governed by their hereditary officers. Colleges and schools had been established on an extensive scale and richly endowed both by the sovereigns of the various states and also private individuals. Hereditary officers, deans of guild

and other official functionaries presided over the administration of the laws and the collections of revenue. Agriculture well flourished and so far as the inscriptions afford evidence, there was a progressive civilisation equal in all respects to that of Northern India. A great European writer thus summarises his arguments about the early civilisation in India." I have called the mind of the Hindu race the brain of the East—the latest philosophical and religious systems lay prefigured in the depths of the Hindu brain. It created one of the most artistic languages, and one of the richest literatures in the world. Its poetic productivity was prodigious. The earlier Hindus had well organised governments, much lauded by the Greek writers for the wise and thoughtful manner in which the interests of trade, and agriculture were protected, the wants of strangers as of the sick and the needy supplied and the defence of the state secured. India has at all time been famous for its domestic and foreign trade." In many instances the resources of India, natural, industrial and intellectual made the wealth of great Empires. Its fine and delicate textures, its wonderful dyes, its porcelains and perfumes, its work in metals and precious stones, its dainty essences, and refined luxuries, "have not only been the wonder and delight of Europe but in no slight degree helped in the revival of arts among the modern nations." The intellectual life of India was profoundly felt throughout the length and breadth of the ancient as well as the modern civilised countries. The decimal system in India was developed to a remarkable extent. Aryabhatta, one of their greatest astronomers and mathematicians, determined closely the relation of the diameter of a circle to its circumference; and applied it to the measurement of the earth.

The Indian physicians were skillful enough to win the admiration of the early Greeks. In "whatever concerns the study of words and forms of thought the Hindus were always at home, anticipating the Greeks and accomplishing more at the outset of their career than the Semitic races did in 2,000 years"! The Hindus enjoyed always the privilege of absolutely free thought. India never produced any exclusive dominant orthodox sect, with a formula of faith to be professed or rejected under pain of damnation. The Hindus have ever been free to believe what they please. During the times of many of its great monarchs, India was ruled under forms of government, which seem to have contained all the instincts of our modern Constitutional and Municipal organisations. Although the King's power was, no doubt, considered, absolute, he was generally advised and ably controlled by his principal Ministers and Councillors and their combined protests in public and political matters, appear to have had very salutary effects upon the deliberations and promptings of the Sovereign. Even Mohomed Toglak, one of the greatest and maddest of Emperors, had to convene often meetings of his Councillors, and put his propositions before them for solution. The King ranked first in power and the Prime Minister stood next to him. Then came the provincial Viceroys, who combined in their persons both the civil and military functions of the state, and who received their orders from the King or his chief minister, for guidance in all important matters. They were generally allowed a liberal hand in the administration of their provinces. Asoka "attached the highest importance to the necessity of being accessible to the aggrieved subjects at any place and at any hour." Salyasayya, the Great, personally attended to the details of his administration to a wonderful ex-

tent, and Devaraya II, one of the greatest emperors of the world in wealth, resources and magnificence, gave ready audiences, when the aggrieved went to him to represent their grievances. The illustrious Krishna Devarayalu, had such a wonderful knack in the just disposal of the complicated cases which came up before him, that during the course of a ride of 3 or 4 hours he would equitably dispose of a large number of petitions. "The civil administration" among these Indian Emperors "was an organisation of considerable complexity, and apparently not inferior to that elaborated by Sher Sha and Akbar." Roads were maintained and pillars were erected on the principal highways to serve as milestones at intervals of about $1\frac{1}{2}$ of an English mile." The ancients consulted the comforts of the travellers by erecting suitable buildings and digging wells for their accommodation and convenience. They had Vaidyasa-las (hospitals) and Patasalas (colleges) and suitable provision was made to keep the roads clear from thieves and highway robbers. Government took notice of the sale of commodities at the proper season and at the proper prices and collected a tithe of the prices of all articles sold.

Wood carvers and stone cutters attained to great perfection in the earlier centuries. Enormous shafts of hard sandstone 40 or 50 feet in length (sometimes even larger) and gigantic surfaces of granite, "were polished like jewels and the joints of masonry were fitted with the utmost nicety." Fergusson persistently points out "that the character of the carpenters' art of the period is known from the architectural decoration to have been derived from wooden proto-types." The beads, seals and other jewellery of the ancients "which have been frequently found, prove indisputably that the Indian lapidaries and

goldsmiths of the earliest historical periods were not inferior to those of any other country." The recorded descriptions and the sculptured representations of chariots, harness, arms, accoutrements, dress, textile fabrics, and other articles of necessity and luxury, indicate, that the Indian empire had then attained a stage of material civilisation probably equal to that attained under the Moghul Emperors! The Greek writers speak with the greatest respect of the power and resources of the Kingdoms of Magadha and Bengal. At Sravana Belagola in Mysore stands a colossal statue of Gautama cut in one solid rock on the top of a hill which measures more than 70 feet in height. This was carved in the 10th century. A grand stone trough 45 feet in length may be seen even now near the Mahanavami Dibba among the ruins of Vijayanagar. This was filled with cows milk for the use of colts and young elephants of the Rayas of Vijayanagar. Nor were the glories of civilisation confined to India alone. Valmiki immortalised the Island of Ceylon in his Ramayana; "Its venerable civilisation is evidenced by its crumbled edifices dating back perhaps as remote as 1000 or 2000 years before Christ. They built a city of gigantic monoliths, carved a mountain into a graceful shrine and decorated their pious monuments with delicate pillars that would have done credit to a Greecian artist."*

"The Brazen palace is a vast collection of monolithic granite pillars 1600 in number, standing 12 ft. out of the ground and arranged in lines of 40 each way. They form-

* See. E. H. of India, Vincent Smith.

H. of Ceylon by Sir Emerson Tennent.

Buried cities of Ceylon by Barrows. M.A.C.C.S.

ed the foundations of the Leva Mahapaya erected by Datu Genuma in the 2nd century B C. and supported a building, nine stories in height, containing 1000 dormitories and other apartments. The whole roof of this vast monastery was of brass. The walls were embellished with beads resplendent like gems. The great hall was supported on golden pillars rising on lions. In the centre was an ivory throne with a golden sun and a silver moon on either side." An enormous Dagoba reaches the height of 250 feet with a diameter of 360 feet. The contents of this huge building exceed 20 millions of cubic feet. "Even with the facilities which modern invention supplies for economising labour the building of such a mass" observes Sir Emmerson Tennent "would at present occupy 500 brick layers from 6 to 7 years and would involve an expenditure of at least one million sterling." Two thousand years ago the Chinese erected a wall 1250 miles in length to prevent the incursions of the Tartars. In Japan near Yokohama sits a gigantic Brazen idol dated from the reign of the Emperor Shomu, who died in 748 A.D. It sits upon a lotus flower and in sitting posture the height is 63½ feet. The face is 16 feet in length and 9½ feet wide. The eyes are 3½ feet from corner to corner. Ears 8½ ft. Chest is 20 feet in depth and the middle finger is 5 feet long. The fifty-six petals of the lotus flower, on which this image is seated, are each 10 by 6 ft. Sir Marco Polo, the great Venetian traveller, thus records his experiences with the famous emperor Kublai Khan in Cathay. "He built a fine marble palace, the rooms of which are all gilt and painted with a variety of trees and flowers, all wrought with such exquisite art, that you regard them with delight and astonishment. The Khan rides through the park with a leopard behind him." The Khan has an-

ther palace, built of bamboo gilt all over. and most elaborately finished inside, supported on gilt and lacquered columns. The roof is covered with a varnish so good and strong that no amount of rain will rot it. This palace can be taken down and put up again with great rapidity to any place the Emperor desires if it should chance to be bad weather there are certain crafty enchanters and astrologers in his train who are such adepts in necromancy and the diabolical arts that they are able to prevent any cloud or storm from traversing the spot wherever the imperial palace stands. They are called Ichbit and Kesomin. Another marvel is performed by these Baosi. When the great Khan is in his grand palace, seated at his table which stands on a platform, some eight cubits above the ground, his cups are set before him at a distance of ten paces from his table and filled with wine or other good liquor. When the Khan desires to drink, these necromancers cause the cups to move from their place without being touched by anybody and to present themselves to the Emperor. It is a truth and no lie." *

High civilisation existed in Abyssinia, Egypt, Greece and Rome long before the birth of Christ. The people of Ethiopia enjoyed the fruits of early civilisation, and had extensive commerce with the Egyptians. Egypt has left stupendous monuments of its former greatness in the shape of its Pyramids. There was a close connection between India and Egypt and civilisation descended the Nile. The Rhodians rose to great prominence by their heroic defence, when they were besieged by Demetrius. They became the greatest naval power in the Mediterranean and erected the Colossus at the

* Note. See my big History of Vijayanagar part I pp. 102-3.
See also Some Heroes of Travel by Davenport Adams.

entrance of their harbour. It was 150 feet high, made of brass, each foot rested on one of the two rocks at the mouth of the haven, which are 50 feet asunder. The largest vessels sailed between the legs without striking their sails. 60 years after it was thrown down by an earthquake, and lay there for nine centuries when it was sold to a Jew who loaded 900 camels with the brass, of which it was composed. The Chaldean civilisation was of a very high order. The city of Babylon was one of the most splendid that ever existed.

When it was taken by the Medes and Persians in 539 B C. the Euphrates flowed through it, and the river was not only spanned by a bridge but also was underworked by a tunnel designed for the exclusive use of the royal family. The temple of Belus, the royal palaces and the hanging gardens were reckoned among the greatest wonders of the world. Cyrus captured this noble city by turning this river from its course. The Phoenicians traded with Spain Italy, Sicily, North West Africa, brought tin from Britain, ambar from Scilly Isles, established settlements on the Persian Gulf and opened communication with India. "Petra, the capital of Idumea was hewn out of the rock and deserved to be one of the greatest wonders of the world." The fleets of Sesostris, at least ten centuries before Christ, scoured the coasts of Southern Asia and India. Necho had the circumnavigation of Africa effected under his rule and also made an attempt to cut a canal between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. Workmen, highly skillful in arts and sciences were found all over the world and they raised monuments according to the means supplied to them by the rulers. Statements of travellers and men of high

political character, ought to be given their due weight in the compilation of modern history. Genius lies dormant, opportunities awaken it and patronage gives it touches of perfection. Contemporary witnesses, make note of certain events, which, at a later stage of the world's existence, become incredulous, when those circumstances which brought those events disappear. Harsha Vardhana, King of Kanouj, invaded Pulikesi II with 60,000 war elephants. This looks quite incredible now as such a huge number of elephants can hardly be conceived to exist in the whole of India including Ceylon. At the battle of Talikota, the Dekkan Mohomedans brought 20,000 war elephants. But where are those numbers now? Earth's productive power varies with its magnetic and electric currents. Great forces in nature are working in their own mysterious ways. We find at one time a large array of warriors and statesmen, while at another period literary geniuses crop up in large numbers. Great kings take their allotted turns, while illustrious statesmen appear when the conditions for them are favourable. A careful mind has very great obstacles in the analysis of these causes. Heradotus describes the fort walls of Babylon as 300 to 400 feet in height. This statement of an eye-witness is difficult to digest by even the most credulous of the present historians. Recent excavations in Mexico and other places in America show ruins of large temples, pyramids and palaces evidencing a high degree of early civilisation. Exploration in Central Asian deserts point to the existence of empires and cities buried in sand. Dr. Stein believes that the occupants of these buried cities which show advanced civilisation had a culture derived from India. Inscriptions written in ink upon wooden tables

contain Sanskrit, Chinese and Tibetan characters. At Bamia, a ruined village in Afghauistan, the largest statues in the world are discovered. The most colossal being 173 feet in height. In the mountain sides are found massive stone towns and innumerable cave dwellings. Gigantic remains of still greater empires and peoples have been respected by *Time* in order that history may be better able to read the past and so enable the present generations to touch the power of those ancient people with their own hands,—power and peoples so much loftier and more majestic than our small self-satisfied present civilisation can boast. !

CHAPTER VIII.

MOHOMEDAN POWERS.

Before the Rise of Vijayanagar.

The Mohomedans were in India long before the rulers of Vijayanagar made their appearance on the political stage. They were instrumental partly in bringing the powerful Bukka dynasty on the throne of Vijayanagar and partly they afforded large facilities for its phenomenal growth, by their greed, inveterate hatred for infidels, persecution of their religion and the destruction of their holy and sacred places. Mohomedans were therefore both the cause for the growth of Vijayanagar and also for its destruction, when it became unwieldly and powerful. Our interest becomes largely awakened in the Mohomedan history towards the end of the 13th century. Sangama dynasty had to face the Mohomedan invasions almost from the very outset of their accession to the thrones of Vijayanagar. A brief sketch of the rise and spread of the Mohomedans becomes therefore necessary to understand the nature of the incessant struggles

which the princes of Vijayanagar had to keep against their inveterate enemies from North. If Southern India, today preserves its Vedic rites and ceremonies, its regular studies of philosophy and Vedanta, its national customs and manners, its Sanskrit and Vernacular pronunciation in their original purity it, owes all these to the grand efforts made by the Emperors of Vijayanagar in the deadly struggles they had with the Pressing Mohomedans for over two and a half centuries, during which time they steadily kept the invading Mussalman hordes from the North in complete check, and stemmed the current of Mohomedan zeal, bigotry, and religion, with extraordinary and successful efforts. The anarchy could not have lasted long after the death of Jambukeswara the Raja of Anagondi, as we believe Rayavamsavali or Feista and Nuniz. The feudatories of Vijayanagar, appear to have been powerful military chiefs, locally strong enough to repel ordinary Mohomedan invasions. They were naturally bitterly opposed to Mussalman supremacy and religious propoganda and they waited for the appearance of a vigorous ruler on the throne of Vijayanagar, to be led against their natural enemies the Mohomedans, in the defence of their country, their religion, their social institutions, their manners and customs, their literature and their children and wives. Harihara I and Bukka I under the able guidance of sage Vidyaranya supplied this want. The Mohomedan attacks in the North, shattered the very foundations of the ancient ruling Hindu dynasties, which were weak with old age, disorganised with internal quarrels and jealousies; rotten by the dissipated character of their weak and luxurious princes, and thoroughly unfitted to stand against powerful foreign invasions, by that lamentable lack of national spirit and union, which finally ended in their defeat and utter

overthrow. Persians and other central Asian Tribes invaded India several times before Mohomed of Ghazni. The latter invaded India 13 times from 1001 to 1030 A. D., defeated various Hindu Princes and carried off immense wealth from India.

The details of his various invasions, when carefully perused by a historian, show that he had no desire to make any permanent stay in India. They further show that he did not take any real interest in the Indian politics. His fierce iconoclastic principles, his unquenchable thirst for money and plunder, his love for slaughtering men, for its own sake, and his religious fanaticism and bigotry to convert infidels into his own faith, by open force and deeds of violence, appear to have prompted him strongly in his Indian campaigns. The forcible conversion of the Hindus, the plunder and destruction of their temples, the inhuman slaughter of their priests and bravest warriors, seem to have established in the hearts of the Hindus, a terror and a hatred of the Mohomedans, which was never afterwards completely redeemed. The efforts of Hindu princes to oppose these Mohomedan invasions were feeble, half-hearted, suspicious, and were marked by mutual jealousies and want of co-operation, which finally resulted in their complete overthrow and utter dismemberment of their ancient royal dynasties. Anandapal of Lahore, appears to have been the only ruler, who had the national honor at his heart. The warlike powers of India showed little of combined resistance, and therefore unassisted and with limited resources, Anandapal could do very little to withstand this formidable Mohomedan invader. The Ghazni dynasty kept on a nominal struggle for supre-

macy nearly for a century and a half till they were overthrown by Mahomed Ghoor. Eizood-ud-deen, married a Royal Princess and was given the principality of Ghoor by Sultan Ibrahim of Ghazni. His brother Sheiff-ud-deen Soori, collected an army, invaded Ghazni, whose ruler had killed Eizood-ud-deen and captured it. The Sultan, who first fled, returned after a year, regained his capital and put to death, Sheiff-ud-deen. But Alla-ud-deen his youngest brother, invaded Ghazni, captured and pillaged it for seven days and razed to ground all its noble edifices in 1152, A.D. On his return to Ghoor, he appointed his nephews Gheiaz-ud-deen, and Moiz-ud-deen, but finding them rebellious he imprisoned them. The son of Alla-ud-deen, Mullik Seiff-ud-deen released them and restored them to the Principality of Ghoor. After the death of Mallik, Gheiaz-ud-deen succeeded to the throne of Ghazni and ordered his brother Moiz-ud-deen to rule in Ghoor as his general. This last was the famous Mohomed Ghoor who invaded India and established the Ghoor dynasty there. His general was the famous Mullik Kutb-ud-deen,—originally a slave—who captured the forts of Meerut and Delhi, made the latter city as his capital, and succeeded in making large numbers of Hindus as converts to the faith of Islam. Kutb ud-deen was made the Viceroy of India, when Mahomed Ghoor returned to Ghazni. In 1195 A.D. Baha-ud-deen, his general, took the fort of Gwalior. In 1196 A.D. the Sultan reduced the forts of Kalan-gor, Kalpi and Budacon. Shams-ud-deen Altmish, son-in-law of Kutb-ud-deen succeeded him in 1210 A.D. In 1225 A.D. he led his army against Behar and Laknooty and exacted tribute from Gheis-ud-deen Baktayar Khilji ruler of Bengal, and appointed his son Nazir-ud-deen Mahomed to the Province of Bengal. He captured Malwa,

Gwalior, and Ujjain, and destroyed the stupendous temple of Mata Kali, which took 300 years to build. The Mahomedan rule now extended over the whole of Northern India, and the power of the Hindus had been completely broken. A few Native Princes here and there managed to govern their hereditary provinces, paying tribute, but the greater part of N. India, was brought directly under the Mohomedan rule. His daughter Sultan Rezia Begum ruled after Altmish with great ability for 3 years, and she was put to death by her brother Prince Bairam. The Moghals under Chengiz Khan invaded India, during his time in 1241 A. D. He was put to death by his nobles and vizier, and was succeeded by his nephew Alla-ud-deen Musscod. During his short reign two Moghal invasions took place, and on account of his vices, the nobles of Delhi, unanimously invited Nazir-ud-deen, the son of Altmish, who had been appointed to the Principality of Bengal, to occupy the throne of Delhi. He was a general of rare ability, and valour. He was a patron of letters and befriended the poor and the deserving. His administrative skill, tact, and remarkable personal character enabled him to quell all disturbances in his extensive dominions, and to restore peace and order throughout his empire until his death in 1266, A.D. He was an illustrious sovereign. His reign brought peace and happiness to the millions of his subjects. His virtuous private character formed an admirable contrast, to the vicious Princes who had preceded him on the throne of Delhi. He was a great general as well as a great statesman. He removed the oldest and the most disaffected officers from their frontier posts, and replaced them by powerful and harmonious garrisons on the West, whence the Moghal invasions were apprehended. He

reduced the greater part of Rajaputana, and the territories between the Ganges and the Jamna. The Mewatees and other Rajput tribes rebelled against him in 1253 A.D. but were subjugated after many hard battles. He left no children, and a slave, who gradually rose to the eminent position of the vizier in the empire, by name Gheias-ud-deen Bulbon, and who filled various responsible posts under Nazir-ud-deen during the last 20 years of his vigorous administration, occupied the throne of his master without any opposition. Bulbon was a great patron of letters, and after he became Emperor of Delhi his court was considered the most learned and dignified in Asia. Fifteen Princes of Asia, took refuge in his capital, who had been dispossessed of their kingdoms by the growing power of the Moghals, and he generously allotted to them sumptuous establishments at Delhi. His court etiquette was strict and his public processions and ceremonials, were the most magnificent in India. Public immorality and drinking were severely repressed. A rebellion of the Mewatees was put down with indiscriminate slaughter in the first year of his reign. Toglak Khan, viceroy of Bengal, rebelled but the king in person marched and put not only the males to death, but also innocent women and children in such large numbers, that being disgusted with the inhuman butcheries by their king, the law officers and advisers of Bulbon so strongly remonstrated upon his massacres of innocent beings, that the Sultan had to give in to their combined protests. His eldest son Mohomed engaged the Moghals, defeated them, but in a chance medly, he was killed. This preyed heavily upon Bulbon and he died in 1286 A.D. after reigning in great splendor and glory for 21 years His grand-son Kekhbad succeeded him. He plunged into

all vices and brought on himself paralysis by his excesses. An officer of the Court named Jellal ud-deen Feroze, of the Khilji Tribe, had the King murdered by a Tartar, and thus brought to an end the Slave Dynasty. Jellal ud-deen was 70 years old when he ascended the throne. At this time Delhi became a point of attraction for all learned men of Asia, and poets, musicians, and dancers were greatly encouraged. Amir Khusroo, one of the sweetest of Persian poets, was appointed librarian to the King. The new Sultan showed great absence of feelings of revenge and hatred in the suppression of the numerous rebellions. When his friends remonstrated at this sudden leniency he valiantly observed. "My friends, I am now old and weak and I wish to go down to the grave without shedding more blood."

This sudden leniency on the part of the Emperor increased crime and rebellion. A conspiracy against his life was revealed to him. The conspirators were caught and brought before him. The King flung his sword before them and challenged the boldest among them to use it against him? This nobility of his character, took all aback and they prostrated before him and asked his forgiveness. Jelal-ud-deen, however roused himself, marched against the rebels in Malwa, but the campaign proved inconclusive owing to the King's aversion to cause further bloodshed. He repelled with great activity a Moghal invasion in 1292 A.D. and one of their chiefs joined the Emperor with 3,000 followers and married his daughter. In 1293 A.D. Malwa was reduced to subjection. His Nephew Alla-ud-deen, now rising to fame, brought the Hindus of Bhilsa and other central Indian Districts to subjection. He was

Governor of Kurra, and these services brought him the Government of Oudh. He obtained permission to march to Southern India, hitherto unpenetrated by the Mohomedan conquerors. With 8,000 cavalry he set out in 1294 A. D. for the Deccan. He marched to the plains of Ellichpur, had a severe engagement with the Jain Raja there, called El and from thence he marched on Deoghur. This was the famous capital of the once powerful Devagiri Yadavas, and Alla-ud-deen with all his activity and valour could hardly make any impression upon its impregnable fortress. Rama Deva, its King, stoutly defended it, but the provisions ran short and the brave King was compelled to seek terms by agreeing to pay a heavy ransom. At this juncture the Raja's son Sankara Deva appeared with an army and engaged the Mohomedans with great courage. But he was eventually defeated and Rama Deva had to pay a still larger sum by way of ransom. Alla-ud-deen now formed the infamous design of murdering his aged uncle and invited the Emperor to visit his province of Kurra. Two Tartars engaged by Alla-ud-deen assassinated the King in 1295 A. D. and after this bloody deed, he proclaimed himself as Emperor of Delhi in 1296. His first charities were enormous as his cruel deeds later on were abnormal.*

The two sons of the late Emperor were barbarously murdered. At first his Government was earnest and highly beneficial. From the varied and romantic events of the period, the several expeditions sent into Southern India and the strange character of the King himself, the reign of Alla-ud-deen appears to be one of the most remarkable and

* Ferista rightly observes thus—"He who ought to have been received with detestation (for his infamous deeds) became the object of admiration to those who could not see the blackness of his deeds through the splendour of his munificence."

interesting of the early Mohomedan sovereigns of India. He quickly redeemed the weakness and irresolution of the previous sovereign. In 1297 A. D. Aluf Khan was sent to Guzerat and Anhulwara was again taken. A large ransom was obtained from the city of Cambay. A slave named Kaffur was presented to Aluf Khan there, and he afterwards became the famous General Mallik Kaffur, who swept everything before him in Southern India. During this reign four Moghal invasions were successfully repelled. These successes drove the Sultan to pride, verging on madness and he conceived the wild idea of propagating a new faith of his own and of conquering the world as Alexander did. In 1299 A.D. he undertook a campaign against Runtashora in which he was severely wounded and left for dead on the field. His uncle Rookhan Khan, ascended the throne on the reported death of the Sultan. But Alla-ud-deen recovered partly, appeared before his camp and was received with great enthusiasm and the unfortunate usurper was captured and beheaded. For a time, he introduced great improvements into the civil administration, crime was put down, drinking was strictly prohibited, roads were repaired and highway robberies became very rare. The reaction however was not far distant. The revenues were exorbitantly fixed, they were exacted with great severity and the poorer classes of the Hindus were treated with no consideration. The rich were tortured to give up their wealth and his edicts, some good, and others mischievous in their results, were promiscuously introduced. He despatched an army to Warangal in 1303 A. D. then ruled by the Narapathi branch of the Andhra Dynasty. The invasions of the Mohomedans into the Deccan became frequent and unbearable. He led an army to Chittoor and reduced it

but before he could march into the Deccan himself, 230,000 Moghal horse invaded Delhi and he had to retain in great haste to defend his capital. Ravaging up to the very gates of Delhi, the Moghals suddenly retreated, struck probable by an unaccountable fear. Ali Beg, a Moghal leader with 10,000 horse penetrated into Rajaputana but was defeated with heavy loss in 1304 A. D. by Toghlak Khan the brave and prudent Governor of the Punjab. The Raja of Chittoor was captured and cast into prison, but he managed to escape with the help of his daughter, recovered Chittoor and became a feudatory of the King on condition of furnishing 5,000 horse and 10,000 foot to the imperial army. In 1305 A. D. the Moghals again invaded India, but were defeated on the banks of the Indus by the brave Toghlak. Many of them were captured and sent to Delhi. The Sultan cruelly put them to death and raised a pillar on their skulls. This inhuman treatment brought the irresistible Moghals once more but again they were defeated and pursued by Toghlak into Kabul and Ghazni and he collected heavy contributions from those cities. This restrained them for some years. Rama Deva, of Devagiri, neglected to send his tribute for 3 years and an expedition was sent in 1306 A. D. against him under General Malik Kaffur with 100,000 horse. Rama Deva, finding all opposition hopeless, entertained Malik with hospitality and accompanied him to Delhi, where he was honorably treated by the Emperor. The army sent in 1303 A. D. against Warangal was unsuccessful and retreated after great sufferings and losses. In 1309 A. D. Malik Kaffur was despatched against Warangal, who captured the city after an heroic defence, and concluded a treaty with the Raja who was obliged to pay a heavy sum of money then and also tribute annually. In 1310 A. D.

Mallik Kassur marched upon Dwarasamudra, which had survived the destruction of the Chalukyas of Kalyan by the Yadavas of Devagiri. This royal city was then in the highest state of prosperity. But it was easily captured and sacked and the magnificent temple of Siva was severely injured. Mallik Kassur's booty was immense, being 312 elephants, 20,000 horses and 96,000 maunds of gold. The amount appears to be incredible, but it is a curious circumstance to be noted, that no silver was found, the idols, the ornaments, public and private, and the plate being all of beaten gold.*

Gold was then cheaper than what it is now, and if we take the bigger maund and value gold at even 15 Rs. a tola, we get the huge figure of about 500 crores of rupees as the booty obtained † But if we measure it by Madras maund even then the sum comes up to about 150 crores. There is nothing improbable in this when we remember that the Hoysala Bellas ruled at Halebedu, uninterrupted for about 3 centuries and extended their conquests over the greater portion of the Deccan and Southern India and the temple charity mania which the people possessed during those times. For an interesting discussion of this question see my note on p. 123 of my Never-To-Be-Forgotten Empire, Vijayanagar.

The territorial expansion had attained its highest extent, and with this increase, the King's temper—always eccentric—began to change considerably for worse. Mallik

* This is the famous temple of Halebedu (ruined town) in Mysore. It furnishes one of the most admirable specimens of florid Hindu architecture in India. The maund varies greatly in India, its value in the South is the least while it has the greatest value in the North of India.

† These large boxes coupled with the regular collection of tributes, increased the revenue, enormously and the number of public buildings, mosques and colleges built during this time exceeded those of any other period.

Kaffur was entrusted with the direction of public affairs, and the young sons of the King were appointed to offices of the highest trust which had to be managed by corrupt deputies. Mallik Kaffur invaded Deccan again in 1312 A.D. and stayed for some time in Devagiri after putting its king Sankara Deva to death. Tributes were punctually collected and forwarded to the Emperor, his master. The King was now old and infirm and Mallik was recalled to help him. This Slave General now formed the ambitious design of ascending the throne and succeeded in confining the two sons and wife of the Sultan. To add to the King's vexation Guzerath rebelled, and the King's troops, sent to quell it, were entirely defeated. The brave Rajputs of Chittoor expelled the Mohomedans, while Haripal Deva—son-in-law of Rama Deva—expelled the Mohomedan garrisons from the Deccan. The King died with these miserable reflections in 1316 A.D. and Mallik at once produced a deed, alledged to have been written by the King, in which his 4th son Oomar was nominated as his successor on the throne under the regency of Mallik. Mallik had the two eldest sons of the Sultan blinded while an attempt was made to murder his 3rd son Moobarik. Moobarik, however, with great presence of mind, gave his jewels to the executioners and thus escaped. These Russians quarrelled over their booty and the matter was brought to the notice of the officer of the Royal Guard. This grateful officer attacked Mallik in his own compartment and killed him. Moobarik was crowned as Emperor in 1317 A.D. His first measures were beneficial, and were directed to bring peace and prosperity. Captives were released, restrictions on trade and agriculture were removed, and wise regulations were introduced in administering laws. His vicious nature however soon

made itself felt. In 1318 A. D. he marched to Devagiri, defeated Haripal, and flayed him alive in a most shocking manner. The King's excesses now knew no bounds. Rarely sober, he perpetrated the most frightful cruelties in his drunken moments.*

The depravity of a royal mind could hardly be imagined to descend to lower depths of degradation. Malik Khusroo, originally a Hindu slave, rose rapidly in the King's service, and was sent from Devagiri to the Carnatic. He obtained immense spoil by plundering and conceived the project of declaring his independence, in the Deccan. He conspired and had the King murdered in 1321 A. D. along with many of the royal Princes. The next day after these murders, Khusroo ascended the throne under the title of Nazir-ud-deen. News, of this horrible revolution, spread rapidly throughout the country, and Ghazy Beg Toghlak, the brave and faithful Viceroy of the Punjab, and other loyal chiefs marched at once upon Delhi. Khusroo hastily collected all the available troops and met the invading armies.

Before the hardy veterans of the frontier marches, the effeminate troops of Delhi could hardly stand, and Khusroo was thoroughly defeated on the plains of the Saraswathi. He fled but was soon captured and executed. Toghlak received next day the congratulations of the Delhi nobles and the palace keys. When he arrived at the "Palace of the thousand minarets" the brave-General wept bitterly and exclaimed that he was induced to draw his sword only to rid the world of a monster, and that if

Ferista says "that the King used to dress himself as a common actress and go with vile public women to dance at the houses of the nobility."

none of the royal race survived, he would faithfully serve whoever among the nobility might be chosen as King." The large multitude at once shouted that "he only was fit to rule, who had often delivered them from the Moghuls and who had now freed them from a horrible tyraung" and carrying him to the great audience hall, seated him on the throne, and hailed him as "Shahjehan" or King of the world. It is difficult to imagine any historical scene more impressive and exciting than this. The Khilji family passed away thus in a wild storm of revolution and murder, attended with shocking excesses, after ruling for about 33 years. The change was, therefore, quite welcome to the people, as they had suffered so deeply and so long. Toghlak never disappointed the hopes founded on his previous character. He assumed the simple title of Gheis-ud-deen Toghlak. His first measures of Government restored peace and confidence. Regularity was established in public administration. Codes of law were compiled on equitable principles and put into practice.

Under his personal care, extensive repairs were made to the public buildings and Delhi wore altogether a new aspect. The Western Frontiers were strengthened by forts and garrisons, and the incursions of the Moghuls were effectually checked. Devagiri and Warangal had revolted, and Aluf Khan, the King's eldest son was despatched into the Deccan with a numerous army. Devagiri easily submitted, but Pratapa Rudra II offered a stout resistance in the field, but when he was forced to seek protection in his fort, he defended it so desperately that the Mohomedan invader had to raise the siege and return to Delhi with the small remnants of his army. Two months later he collected

a fresh army and proceeded to Warangal to redeem his honor. On his way he reduced the Raja of Jajnagger to subjection and exacted tribute from him.*

Warangal was besieged and captured after a gallant defence. Pratapa Rudra II. with his family, was sent to Delhi and a Viceroy was appointed to rule in Warangal. In 1325 A. D. the King visited his Eastern frontiers and met there Kurra Khan, son of Bulbon, who remained virtual King of Bengal throughout these interminable revolutions. The Sultan confirmed him in the Government of Bengal and permitted him to assume the royal insignia. The King returned to Delhi, where his son Aluf Khan had prepared a great reception pavilion. On the conclusion of the entertainment, the Prince and the nobles preceded the Sultan and the roof fell upon the King and he was killed. Toghlak had reigned four years and some months. His character appears to great advantage in the midst of revolutions and bloodshed, murders and ingratitude, and the violent brutal passions which prompted men to commit excesses in their insatiable greed for wealth and power. Toghlak had no infamous or traitorous thoughts in his mind. He patronised men of letters, and his short administration gave ample evidence of the generous instincts which prompted him in the discharge of his exalted duties. Aluf Khan or Mohomed Toghlak succeeded his father. He spoke eloquently, his letters were models of good style, his memory was remarkable, he was well up in the sciences of his period, he had a special gift in mathematics and medicine and, in remarkable cases, he would himself attend on patients

* Jajpur was for sometime the capital of Orissa. This implies subjection of Orissa to the Sultan.

and note down the symptoms of the progress of their complaints. He studied the Greekian Philosophy and was extremely fond of discussing with learned men. In religion he was strict, omitted no prayers and could not tolerate their omission by others. Ferista says that in "spite of these splendid accomplishments the Prince was totally devoid of mercy or of consideration for his people." Other historians speculate, as to whether "the King's nature had not a strong tincture of insanity about it." After his accession extravagant amounts were distributed among his nobles and adherents. The irrepressible Moghuls again appeared and overran the country to the very gates of Delhi. Mohamed Toghak usually called the "*Mad*," displayed unaccountable inactivity, foreign to his general bravery and nature, by paying a heavy ransom to the invading Moghuls. He then marched into the Deccan, completely subjugated it and on his return to Delhi he annexed Lucknow and Chittagong. The internal affairs of the state were shamefully neglected. The currency became debased, the Sultan's extravagances knew no bounds, government credit was shaken, he introduced paper currency, which added further confusion to his already embarrassed finances, agriculture became impossible under the exactions imposed on lands and their produce, large tracts were left uncultivated, people were driven to plundering and devastating the country, and all legitimate occupations were found impracticable. With 370,000 horses he wanted to conquer Persia, but their pay fell into arrears and they began to plunder the territories they passed through. Under his nephew Khusroo Mullik, the King despatched 100,000 horse to conquer China in 1387 A.D., but the whole army miserably perished in the snows of the Himalayas and the

few who escaped from this mad expedition were put to death by the King. Another nephew of the King by name Baba-ud-deen, who was for sometime Viceroy of the Deccan, now rebelled, and the Sultan sent Khaja Jehan, Governor of Guzerat, against him. A battle was fought near Devagiri, the rebel was defeated and he fled with the remnants of his army to the Raja of Kampili in the Carnatic.* The Rajah of Anagondi gave him shelter, and appears to have advanced to Kampili to oppose the Sultan, who now himself appeared at the head of his army to chastise his rebellious nephew. The rebel's position in Kampili was however found to be formidable. The Emperor resumed the operations against Kampili himself and in the several encounters he had with the Raja of Kampili, the Sultan found himself for sometime unsuccessful. Eventually the Raja of Anagondi was forced to take shelter in his formidable fortress of Anagondi. The place was captured after a heroic defence and the Raja was thrown into prison. His nephew fled for protection to the Bellal Raja of Dwarasamudra, whither the Sultan proceeded and besieged their capital. The Raja prudently handed over the rebel to the Sultan, by whom Baba-ud-deen was flayed alive, his flesh cooked and given to be eaten by the females. After this revenge, the Sultan re-

* Ferista declares that this Raja of Kampili offered such stout resistance to the Sultan of Delhi and his vast army, and inflicted such severe defeats, that the Emperor of Delhi sat before Anagondi for 2 years and with supreme efforts reduced it. As far as historical or traditional accounts go, Kampili, situated to the S. E. of Anagondi at a distance of 10 or 12 miles, never formed the seat of any Kingdom, and never possessed fortifications strong enough to resist the powerful army of the Sultan of Delhi. From all information collected by me, it appears that the Raja of Anagondi gave shelter to the Mohomedan Rebel and when he heard of the march of the Sultan of Delhi, he seems to have first moved to Kampili to oppose him, and after some desperate fighting retreated to his impregnable fortress of Anagondi and held it out for 2 years against his powerful enemy.

turned to Devagiri and changed its name into Dowlatabad. He strengthened its fortifications and wanted to make it his capital. The citizens of Delhi were compelled to proceed to Devagiri and in these mad projects of the Sultan hundreds of thousands of people miserably perished. In 1340 A. D. Multan rebelled but the Viceroy was captured and put to death. Bengal also rebelled, but the King could not put it down. Malabar rose against him, and the King marched in person. He fell ill, and returned by way of Berar, where he built a mausoleum in honor of his fallen *tooth*. In 1344 A. D. Krishna Naik, son of Pratapa Rudra, removed to Bijapur, which had been previously founded by Vidyaranya in 1336 A. D. and in concert with Harihara I. and Bellala Deva of Dwarasamudra, aided by all the martial Hindus Princes of Southern India, he drove the Mohomedan garrisons from Warangal to Dowlatabad, and cleared the country of all their posts. From 1344 to 1347 A. D. the record of the Sultan's reign was little more than a series of rebellions and disturbances in the distant provinces. In 1347 A. D. while conducting operations against a local chief in Guzerat, he heard that his troops in the Deccan had mutinied and set up a new King. While besieging Devagiri, the Sultan heard of a fresh rebellion in Guzerat, whither he proceeded and speedily restored order. Meanwhile Ismail-al-mulk, Viceroy of Berar, who was left in charge of the operations near Devagiri, was utterly defeated by an officer of the rebels named Hoosain Gungoo, who now proclaimed himself as King of the Deccan under the title of Alla ud-deen Hoosain Gungoo Bahamini. In 1351 the Sultan marched to punish some Rajaput Princes in Sindh, who gave shelter to some of the rebels. Eating too much of the Indus fish he caught fever and died.

Mohomed Toghlak reigned 27 years, in an almost uninterrupted succession of bloody reprisals, of rebellions and disturbances, and of executions and wholesale massacres, which seem to be unparalleled, even in the revolutionary history of Delhi. During his time the empire had reached its utmost limits. It would be interesting to have an idea of the boundaries of this empire under Mohomed Toghlak. The Provinces of the Punjab, Oudh, Delhi and Bengal formed an unbroken line of possessions from which all former Hindu Kingdoms and Principalities, had disappeared under Mahomedan oppression and rapid conquests. Malwa and Bihar were conquered and annexed. Princes of the Rajaputana paid tributes to the Delhi Sultan. Guzerat and Multan were Royal Provinces; but the lower Sindh remained in the hands of Soomera Rajputs.

The dominions of the Devagiri Yadavas had been incorporated into the empire and their dynasty ceased to exist. Ferista says "that Warangal had fallen, and the Eastern territories of the Andhras had been annexed, but a branch of this family appears to have removed to Bijanagar, on the Thungabhadra, and founded a Kingdom there which long resisted the Mahomedans of the Deccan, and rose to great power and eminence."* The empire extended West to the Malabar Coast, and part of the Northern Konkan, including Raichore, Mudgol, Gulburga, Beder, Bijapur, and Gunjooty. The line of boundary to the South West, may be drawn by the rivers Thungabhadra and Krishna. Bellaras had lost their independence and the Province of Mysore with its surrounding districts

* The version given by Ferista about the foundation of Bijanagar or Vijayanagar, has been quite incorrect as we have clear inscriptions, detailing events and facts just contrary to those given by the Mahomedan historian.

must also be included in this empire. Mallik Kaffur built a Mosque at Rameswaram. The Cholas, the Pandyas and the Hoysalas, had lost much of their independence and power, and the remnants of their royal families received their last shocks for dismemberment by the Mahomedans who pressed from the North. The empire of Delhi was now too unwieldy to remain long in the hands of weak and unprincipled Kings, who succeeded on the throne of Delhi, with astonishing rapidity, and whose revolutionary affairs at the capital, hardly left them any time to think of these distant provinces. This state of affairs afforded splendid opportunities for energetic adventures in all parts of India, to establish their own dynasties, and to defy the shaky authority of the nominal Sovereigns of Delhi.

From this time the rulers of Delhi do not seem to have made any serious attempts to regain their lost authority in the Deccan, and the political drama had therefore, to be played by Chiefs, Mohomedan and Hindu, who rose to power by dint of their personal valour and exertions, and by their capabilities in the military art which they possessed or which were roused into activity under the pressing care of self protection and mother necessity.

The Bahamini Dynasty which sat upon the throne of Gulburga, and with whom the Vijayanagar Princes had continuous wars, deserves more than a passing note.

Hussein Gungoo, who defeated Ismail-ul-mulk, the Viceroy of Mohomed Toghak, was originally a poor menial in the service of a Delhi Brahmin named Gungoo. In ploughing the fields Hussein turned up a pot filled with gold coins. Hussein gratefully handed over this treasure to his Brahmin master Gungoo, who appreciating his honesty, cast

his horoscope and found conjunction of planets indicating future royal honors to his menial Hussein. The Brahmin requested Hussein, that if his predication proved correct his own name of "Gungoo" Bahamini might be associated with his dynasty. "It is perhaps the best confirmation of this story" significantly remarks Mr. Taylor "that at the period in which a fierce fanaticism and hatred of Hindu idolators, was a proud distinction courted by most Mohomedans of high rank, Zufferkhan, when he became a king, should have assumed Gungoo Bahamini as the distinguishing title of his dynasty in preference to any Mohomedan appellation a title it continued to possess till its extinction." Gungoo Hussein originally went under the name of Zufferkhan and was introduced to the Emperor of Delhi by his Brahmin master Gungoo. He rose rapidly and commanded the forces in the Deccan. He became rebellious, fought against the troops of Ismail-ul-mulk the Viceroy of Berar. The royal troops were defeated and the Viceroy was killed in 1847 A. D. The King of Delhi seems to have made no attempts to recover his authority and the whole of his possessions in the Deccan fell into the hands of Zufferkhan who was crowned as King under the title of Alla-ud-deen Hussein Gungoo Bahamui. Making Gulburga as his capital, he applied himself with great vigour and ability to the consolidation of the power he thus obtained.*

An ancient Prince of Guzerat invited Hussein Gungoo to occupy that province and he advanced towards it with a large army in 1857 A. D. Falling sick he returned to

* He took his old Brahmin Master Gungoo and made him his chief treasurer. It is the first record of such a high office being bestowed upon a Brahmin by a Mohomedan Sovereign. Bahmini is a corruption of the Sanskrit Brahmini or pertaining to a Brahmin.

Gulburga. His Kingdom was divided into provinces. The Northern was Berar, the Eastern extended from Berar, Mahore, and Ranghur to Indore and Kowlas, the Southern was the line on the Krishna and the Thungabadra rivers, and the Western reached up to the sea. Over this territory the Mohomedan power had been gradually established during the last half a century. The King died in his illness in 1358 A. D. and was succeeded by his son Mahomed. Two great Hindu Kingdoms threatened the Mohomedans in the Deccan. Warangal, now repossessed by the original dynasty, lay on the East and South East and Bijnagar, a modern state but more powerful, extended on the South and the South West. Weakness or want of resolution would have been dangerous to this rising Mohomedan Kingdom. Mohomed Shah possessed a fierce and daring character, burning with great zeal and intolerant of all Hindus. He received with the utmost impatience demands from Warangal and Bijnagar for restoration of portions of territories which his father had wrested from them. The King was yet unable to enter upon a campaign against either or both of these Hindu States. He cleverly kept their ambassadors under various pretexts at his court and watched for a good opportunity for action.

When Mohomed's brother returned from Mecca, he made demands on the Raja of Warangal with the result that the Raja's son, Vinayaka Deva, was sent to recover Kowlas. Vinayaka was defeated and the Mohomedan troops plundered up to Warangal. On payment of a war indemnity the Mohomedans retired and peace reigned for some time between the two Kingdoms. Merchants complained of Vinayaka's exactions and war broke out again. Mahomed invaded Warangal, captured the city and

put Vinayak Deva to death. On his return not altogether harassed by the Hindus and suffered much loss of Vijaya-baggage. Ultimately he succeeded and obtained Vijaya of Golconda, with its dependencies, together with valuable jewels and elephants. On Mohamed's return to Gulburga he held a grand festival in honor of his successes. A band of minstrels gave him peculiar pleasure and he directed an order for their payment to be written on the treasury of the Hindu Kingdom of Vijayanagar.

We have now to go back to the early Kings of Bijapur and see their political position, with reference to that of the Bahmini Princes, the resources they commanded, the extent of their territory, how this 'Drunken Draft' was received by them and what consequences followed from this curious episode. Careful study, of the documentary evidence before us, shows that the combination, which Krishna Naik formed in 1344 A. D. of all the Hindu Princes of the South including those of Vijayanagar, had been broken up after their first successful attempts to drive the Mohamedans out of the Deccan. Warangal was an ancient and powerful state and Vijayanagar already possessed extensive territories and accumulated treasure. The generals of Vijayanagar commanded the admiration of the Bahmini Sultans, for their bravery, military capacity and success, and it is a regrettable fact that they did not unite their forces with those of Warangal and threaten the very existence of the Mohamedan power. Mutual jealousies, quarrels over conquered provinces and false fears that one would absorb the other when powerful, seem to have weighed considerably in their deliberations and made them keep away from uniting into one homogenous body. If these two powerful Hindu

states had been united, the history of the Mohomedan Power in the Deccan would have been quite different. Even at a later stage these two Hindu states sent ambassadors to Feroz Shah, Sultan of Delhi, to help them in their fight against the Deccan Mohomedans. But they do not seem to have made any combined effort to fight the Mohomedans themselves. A real and trusted combination of these two kingdoms with such other martial Princes as were ready to join them from the South, would have compelled the Bahmini Sultans to give up many of their newly conquered provinces. History, however, will always be what it is, and not what we want it to be.

CHAPTER IX.

HARIHARA I.

In the face of clear documentary evidence it is injudicious to venture into the field of guesswork in writing historical accounts. Sri Vidyaranya's inscription plainly states that in S. 1258 (1333 A. D.) the city of Vidyanagar was founded by him in the existing city of Vijayanagar. The *Saptami Vibhakti* (locative case) used in the original *Sasana* entirely precludes the idea of Vijayanagar being founded in that year for the first time.*

* Messrs Rice and Sewell make ill-founded guesses, not understanding properly the famous *Sasana* of Vidyaranya. Mr. Rice considers himself strong in his inscriptional lore and therefore had no discretion to misinterpret the inscription dictated by a scholar of Vidyananya's stamp. He derives *Anagondi* erroneously. It is not *Ana Gundu*. The first means *Ana* elephant and *Gundi* pit, while the proper derivation is *Ana* elephant and *Gondi* a street or lane. *bandi*, *Gondi* in Kannada mean lanes and blind lanes and with slight terminal alterations they mean the same in Telugu viz. *Sanda*, *Gondu*. It is extremely difficult for European Archaeologists (in spite of the help they get from the Brahmin Pandits employed by them) to understand the idioms and delicacies of foreign languages. See pp. 344-45 Vol. I, M. G. Rice.

In the "Raya Vamsavali" a document not altogether to be overlooked in the compilation of the history of Vijayanagar, it is clearly stated that a former king called Vijaya Dhwaja founded the city of Vijayanagar and the inscription of Vidyaranya becomes sufficiently intelligible only in the light of this fact.*

Haryappa or as he was usually called in the earlier Sasanas, Hariappa Oodeyar was the first King on the throne of Vidyanagar set up by the Brahmin sage Vidyaranya. The Deccan and South Indian royal dynasties had been greatly shattered by their internal quarrels and mutual jealousies and more so towards the beginning of the 14th century by the irresistible Mohomedan invasions from the North. The Mohomedans themselves were subjected to such rapid revolutionary movements in Northern India that by the time the early Vijayanagar rulers appeared on the

* The accounts given of the foundation of Vijayanagar by Sewell, Nuniz and Ferista are misleading and based on pure conjecture and therefore no reliance could be placed on their statements as they are unsupported by authentic facts. Ferista gives 1344 A.D. as the date of foundation, quite inconsistent with the clear inscription of Vidyaranya. Nuniz makes one Deorao to have "built the city and called it Vidyajana in honor of the Brahmin Hermit" Vidyaranya with whose help he and his successors eventually became powerful monarchs. Ferista ascribes the foundation to Belal Dao of Dwarasamudra and says that he built a strong city upon the frontiers of his dominions and called it after his son Beeja to which the word Naggar or city was added so that it is now known as Beeja Naggar." Anagondi was not a village as Mr. Rice calls it but had grown into great opulence as the capital of Nanda Maharaja and his successors on its throne and when the extensive old fortifications with their impregnable citadels were taken into consideration, with garrisons numbering more than 50,000, we can certainly infer that its civil and military population must have numbered several lacs of souls and it must have been one of the foremost cities in Southern India. For reasons stated in my larger work, Vijayanagar seems to have been built by Vijayadhwaja about 1150 A.D. so that the city was nearly two centuries old when it was revived by Vidyaranya in grander proportions about the year 1336 A.D.

political horizon the powerful emperors of Delhi had almost lost their hold on the Deccan, and for two centuries from this period they forsook all pretensions to power and political interference in the Deccan and Southern India. However these political revolutions gave rise to a new Mohomedan power in the Deccan under the name of the Gungoo Bahamini Dynasty, which, in the course of a century, split itself into four or five Mohomedan states with all of which the Princes of Vijayanagar had political relations and with all of which they had to maintain incessant wars for the acquisition of disputed territories or for their protection and regulation. A brief sketch of the extent and resources of the first ruler of Vijayanagar Harihara, I, who founded the famous Sangama Dynasty, through the help of Vilyaranya, the territories which were under his direct control, the princes who ruled under him as feudatories and governors and the wars in which he was involved in the defence of his newly established dynasty, becomes here necessary to rightly understand the political events, which so early enabled him to conquer large territories, consolidate his political power, and bequeath to his successor an extensive empire and vast resources in men and treasure. Vijayanagar was already a flourishing city, of an extensive kingdom over which powerful Kings ruled for centuries and collected vast quantities of treasure which were concealed in some mountain recesses probably known only to the ruling princes and their confidential advisers. They must have had large and powerful armies, vast resources and impregnable fortresses to have afforded protection to a high royal personage like the Mohomedan Viceroy of the Deccan and to have defeated the Emperor of Delhi in

various encounters and kept him in check for about two years. The anarchy after the destruction of the Anagondi princes does not seem to have lasted long, and the first king of the Sangama dynasty Harihara I. appears to have been recognised with the influence of his Brahmin Guru very early in his royal career as its legitimate ruler under whose guidance and protection, the fugitive Princes of the Deccan and Southern India readily placed themselves to defend their ancient religion and to fight against their natural enemies the encroaching Mohomedans, with courage. The scions of the ancient royal families, seem to have been greatly moved by the Brahmin Hermit Madhava Vidyaranya, to adopt this step and the early rulers of Vijayanagar afforded scope to these fallen princes, for distinguishing themselves under such military organisation as would enable them to cope with the Mohomedan incursions with fair chances of victory and conquest. The want of strong leaders and able advisers had been lamentably felt in the thoroughly shattered political fabric of the ancient Hindu dynasties and the Princess of Vijayanagar, seem to have not only supplied this want but also to have in an incredibly short time, succeeded in forming themselves into a strong bulwark against the Mohomedan invasions. The whole of Southern India, many parts of the Deccan, and the whole of the East Coast from the confines of Bengal to the Cape Comorin was brought under their control and when Bukka I ascended the throne of Vijayanagar, it was a powerful empire and he became the greatest Hindu sovereign of his time. A short anarchy appears to have prevailed before the establishment of the Sangama dynasty. The kingdom had already assumed importance, both as re-

gards in its extent and also in its military resources. Portions of Warangal, Devagiri, Dwarasamudra and Konkan were readily assimilated into the newly formed empire of Vijayanagar. Harihara I. was a tactful ruler. He introduced salutary measures for the consolidation of his newly acquired power, for strengthening the frontier garrisons and defences and for devising means to afford his people sufficient protection from internal as well as from foreign disturbances. The new King possessed warlike and faithful brothers, and the Brahmin Guru, of extraordinary learning and acknowledged religious merit, Vidyaranya gave him sound counsel in all important state matters. He appointed his brothers to high Civil and Military posts. Bukka, his successor on the throne of Vijayanagar, was made Yuva Raja or Heir apparent and was entrusted with the Chief Military control. Kampa was given the work of conquest and settlement in the Eastern Districts and he was eminently successful there. Marappa seems to have been deputed to reduce the Kadamba territories and ruled at Chaudragutti in the West of Mysore.

What Madapa did, is not clearly known. A Sringeri Sasana S. 1268, Parthiva, first day after full moon, Phalguna or 1346 A. D. makes a grant of nine villages to Bharati Tirtha Sripada, his disciples and 40 Brahmins during the reign of Harihara I. when he was ruling with his brothers Kampa, Bukka, Mara, Mada, Aliya Ballapa Daunayaka and Kumara Somana Odeyar, in honor of victories over territories extending from the Western to the Eastern oceans. *

* Kumara means son and among Royal families, heir apparent. Aliya means son-in-law or sister's son. Somana was apparently Harihara's son but seems to have died early as he is not heard of later. Dannayaka means Danda Nayaka or commander or high magistrate. Ballappa was son-in-law of Harihara or one of his brothers or most have been his sister's son.

This *sasana* also confirms the succession of the "Gurus" on the priestly throne of Sringeri. The ruined city was named Vidyanagar in honor of the sage Vidyaranya. *

Vidyathirtha obtained *siddhi* in 1383 A. D. and Vidyaranya seems to have returned to Humpe in that year and founded Vidyanagar 3 years later. Bhoganatha or Bharati Thirtha obtained *siddhi* in 1380 and Vidyaranya obtained *siddhi* in 1386 A. D. Bharati Thirtha seems to have remained in Sringeri worshipping *saraswathi* all his life while his more famous brother Vidyaranya acted the parts of both a Guru and a counsellor to the rising kings of the Sangama Dynasty. I have seen the original inscription in Kannada.

Sringeri Gurus were very closely connected with the foundation of this grand empire. Its phenomenal growth was entirely due to the great ability, influence, and pecuniary help which Vidyaranya lent to its early Sovereigns. During the life time of Vidyaranya, Harihara I, Bukka I and Harihara II ruled successively and the Sage had the satisfaction of witnessing, with honest pride, the wonderful growth of an humble state established by him on the banks of the Thungabhadra, and which extended itself into a mighty empire, including all Southern India, portions of the Deccan and the greater part of the East Coast. A *sasana* (dated H. 1346 A. D. Hunsur) mentions setting up of a *virakal* for certain gowdas of *Chaprudahalli* who died fighting for their king, Hariappa Odeyar. Another dated 1336 A. D. testifies to the grant of a village named Kapalam otherwise

* Sayana and Bhoganatha were the two brothers of Madhava or Vidyaranya. Bhoganatha became Sringeri Guru in 1323 ordained by Vidyathirtha. Three years later Madhava went and was also ordained.

called Hariharapuram in free gift to a Brahmin named Kesavabhatta. *

A minister named Virakaya (*strong bodied*) made a grant of land in the increasing and glorious reign of Hariappa Odeyar in A. D. 1847.†

An inscription (1843 A. D. *Swabhanu*) declares that Bhayanna of the Soma Vamsa (Lunar race), worshipper at the feet of Maharajadhiraja Raj Parmeshwara Ilatihara Maharaja (ruling) built a tank and Agraharam near Hirigandasi (Mysore) and called it Mangapura in honor of his mother and gave it to the Brahmins.‡

This establishes the fact that the conquests of Harihara I. extended rapidly over the whole of present Mysore and he seems to have been recognized as their paramount Sovereign §

* This Sasana consists of three copper plates joined by a seal bearing the figure of Yama. A large village called Hariharapuram is now seen about 7 miles from Bringeri. Originally it was called Kapalm. This is most important as showing unmistakably that Harihara I was ruling in 1226 A. D. and that he was big enough as a king to grant a village to a Brahmin hundreds of miles from Vijayanagar. The incorrect accounts of Nuniz and Ferista are directly given the lie by this and Vidyaranya's famous inscription. This further supports the probability advanced by us namely, that a Karnatic dynasty flourished at Vijayanagar long before that time. A short anarchy prevailed and Vidyaranya quickly returned from Bringeri and rebuilt a city called Vidyanagara on the ruins of Vijayanagar and called it after his own honored name and that Harihara I with his warlike brother suddenly found himself seated on the throne of an extensive empire by the help of sage Vidyaranya and was in a position to dispute the supremacy of the Mohomedans even when Mahomed Toghlak was living as Emperor of Delhi.

† Thirthahalli Inscription dated S. 1260 Vijaya.

‡ Here the humbler titles of *Cholayam* and *Mahamandleshwara* had had been dropped and grander ones assumed by Harihara I in the short period of seven years.

ROMANTIC HISTORY OF CHANDRAHASA.

I have read the original inscription. The name looks more as Chayanna. The difference between Cha and Bha in Kannada is very slight. Mr. Rice reads it as Bhayana. The name is unfamiliar in the Carnatic. Chhayappa and Chhayana are frequently met with in Canarese literature. References to Faista clearly show that Harihara defeated the Sultan of Delhi with the help of the confederate Hindu princes. In his wars against the Mohomedans Harihara seems to have gained very large portions of territories formerly subjected to Warrangal, Devagiri, Dwarasamudra and other Hindu kingdoms of the South. An inscription recognises the authority of Harihara over the Nagarkhanda and states that a Jain priest named Chandra Prabha died in Kuppatur, a lovely place in that pictoresque country. The renowned Maurya king Chandragupta (grandfather of Asoka) was alleged to have spent some of his later days in contemplation in this place.

The Saka year is not given, but Chitrabhanu corresponds with 1843 or 1402 A. D. It is a curious coincidence to note that in 1342 Harihara I and in 1402 Harihara II ruled. Nagarkhanda represents the North-West portion of Mysore, where, after the fall of Vijayanagar, the Ikkeri or Bedour Chiefs rose to great power.

Kuppatur is a place of great antiquity and was originally called "Kuntala nagara" the famous capital of Chandrahasa, whose romantic history forms an interesting episode in the Mahabharata. Chandrahasa was born with six toes. His father died in a battle and his mother committed *Sati*. His nurse took him to Kuntala and died leaving him to live on begging. While begging in the minister's house, some astrologers noted signs of royalty in him and said that he would become their king one day. Dushtabudhi (minister) took measures to have him murdered. The assassins repented at the last moment, cut off Chandrahasa's sixth toe and produced it before the minister. Kulunda, a military officer, while hunting, heard Chandrahasa's cry and, pleased with his noble mien, brought him up. Chandrahasa was employed to subdue several rebellious chiefs and obtained wealth for his protector. This threw the minister into jealousy. Dushtabudhi sent an urgent message to his son Madana, resolving to have him murdered. Chandrahasa took the letter, approached the city and fell into deep sleep, in the minister's garden. Dushtabudhi's daughter Vishaya was in the garden at the time, saw the handsome youth and fell in love with him. Observing a letter in the youth's bosom in her father's handwriting, she took it and read it. Her father had asked her brother to give this youth at once Vishaya (poison) and she cleverly changed that into Vishaya and put it there. The youth woke up went to Madana and was at once married to the beautiful daughter of the minister as the orders were urgent and brooked no delay. Dushtabudhi made another attempt to have Chandrahasa murdered but by a singular mistake, his son Madana was killed. Chandrahasa attracted the attention of the Kuntala king and as the king had no sons, he was placed on the throne. See Kannada Jaimini Bhauta.

Examining all the inscriptions available I find that Harihara ruled from 1336 to 1354 A. D. Nuniz says, that Deorao, the first king, was an old man and ruled for seven years. If this could be believed, then Harihara must have died in or about 1343. Mr. Sewell's Logic seems to me quite unintelligible. He observes thus—"He (Harihara) reigned according to our chronicles seven years. His death, if this be so, would have taken place about the year 1343. Nuniz relates that he founded a temple in honour of the Brahmin hermit, his protector. This was the great temple at Hampi, the only one among the massive shrines erected at the capital in which worship is still carried on, the others were remorselessly wrecked and destroyed by Mahomedans in 1565 A.D. The traveller Ibu Batuta refers to this king under the name of Harib in or about the year 1342 A.D. If the traditions collected by Nuniz, according to which Harihara I lived at peace during the seven years of his reign, be true, his death must have occurred before 1344 A.D., because in that year, as we learn from other sources, Krishna, son of Pratap Rudra of Warrangal, took refuge at Vijayanagar and in concert with its king and with the surviving Ballala Princes of Dwarasamudra drove back the Mohomedans, recovered, for a time, part of the southern country and prepared the way for the overthrow of the sovereignty of Delhi south of the Vindhya. I take it, therefore, that Harihara died in or about the year 1343." The inference drawn in the last sentence is curious and unaccountable. If Krishna came to take refuge in Vijayanagar, sought the help of its king, joined the surviving princes of the Ballala line and drove the Mahomedans out of the Southern Deccan for a time, I fail to see why Harihara should have died in or about the year 1343. There is nothing to prevent us from

conceiving Krishna's going to Harihara and with his help, succeeding in driving the Mohamedans out of the Deccan. Krishna's arrival certainly was no signal for Harihara's death and there is no record whatever before us to show that Krishna went to any other king. Ibu Batuta refers to the king Harib and simple reference to him is not death.*

From all these records it appears that Harihara ascended the throne in 1336 A. D. by the help of his Brahmin preceptor Vidyaranya and strengthened his position on the throne by giving important military expeditions to his warlike brothers. He seems to have entered into a strong confederacy with Krishna Nayak of Warrangal and other South Indian Princes and succeeded in defeating the Sultan of Delhi and in expelling the Mahomedans from the southern Deccan in 1344 A. D. The remaining ten years of his life, he seems to have employed for the consolidation of his power. He probably died in 1354 leaving to his famous brother Bukka I, an extensive territory, a good and trained army and an able Brahmin minister. During the course of eighteen years of his reign, he appears to have extended his conquests far and wide, introduced organization into the working of the state departments and raised the power of Vijayanagar as a great bulwark which opposed the Mahomedans for more than two and a half centuries. As Vidyaranya selected Harihara to the throne of Vijayanagar, we have every reason to credit the king with the possession of

* Sewell, in his S. I. Antiquity Vol. II, page 343 says that Harihara I ruled from 1336 to 1350 and bases his inference on his study of Dr. Burnell and Mysore inscriptions, but in his Forgotten Empire he kills that monarch in 1348. L. Rice, in his Mysore Gazetteer Vol. I, page 336 observes that the dates given by him for the Vijayanagar kings were based upon the evidence of inscriptions and gives Harihara I 1336 to 1350. I have shown by clear documentary evidence that Messrs. Sewell and Rice are entirely wrong in their inferences.

manly virtues and kingly dignity. We are not in possession of the details of his administration and though, he was not perhaps as warlike as his younger brother Bukka I he was not wanting in courage or tact. He seems to have been a deep and farsighted statesman and succeeded in establishing order and harmony out of chaos.*

Harihara I died issueless, and Bukka I, already made Yuva Raja, succeeded his brother on the throne in 1354 A. D. Kampa, second brother of Harihara, sent to conquer the Eastern provinces, ruled in the newly acquired provinces and after his death Sangama II, his son, succeeded him there. A great difficulty has been created by Mr. Sewell here and his reference to Bitrugunta inscription does not in the least help him. His statement that Bukka I "being a man of war usurped the throne" is misleading and incorrect in the light of inscriptions discovered. Further researches in this line have shown that Harihara died in 1354 A. D. and was at once succeeded by the Yuvaraj

*A Jain Sasana dated Saka 1278 Vijaya (1854) from Soraba distinctly says that in that year Hariyappa Udayar was ruling the kingdom and that one Malagowda died and his wife Channaka went to Swarga by her Sati. I have seen the original and it looks perfectly genuine. The cyclic year Vijaya tallies perfectly with 1354 A. D. Mr. Rice does not seem to have noticed this Sasana and its importance as bearing on the dates of the succession of Vijayanagar rulers. Another important Sasana (inscription) adds much value to that already quoted. It is simply dated Vijaya and states that when Veera Hariyappa Udayar was ruling in peace Kamagowda of Avilli obtained Swarga. What adds value to this inscription is the day of the month and week day. The first is dated third lunar day of the dark half of the Pushya on a Sunday in S. 1276 Vijaya and the second is dated on the Purnama of Pushya Friday in the year Vijaya. In both of these Shuddha and Bahula are clearly written. This tallies admirably as in the dark half of the lunar month when full moon becomes a Friday, the Tritiya next to it (Bahula) may generally fall on a Sunday. From this it is clear that Harihara was ruling in 1354. As the Saka year is not given, it may also refer to Harihara II in which case, the cyclic year would be 1414 A.D. But from all evidence Harihara II has not gone beyond 1406; besides he is generally called Maharaja Adiraja and is mentioned as the son of Hakkeraja probably with a view to distinguish him from Harihara I.

brother Eukka I. Kampa must have been content with his administration in Nellore, and probably he was not as fully qualified for ruling a disturbed and newly founded empire as his famous younger brother Bukka I. Sewell's argument may be briefly summed up here for reference. He says "I take it therefore that Harihara I died in or about 1343 A. D." The Sringeri inscription dated 1346 A. D. clearly mentions the grant of nine villages to his Guru and his disciples by Harihara I, where also the Yuvarajship of Bukka I is mentioned. In the *Rayavamsavali*, carefully preserved by the Rajas of Anagondi, no mention of Kampa or Sangama is made as succeeding Harihara I. In 1346 A. D. a *vinakal* was set up in memory of some gowdas who died fighting for their sovereign Hariappa Udeyar. A Copperplate grant dated 1378 A.D. (Channayapatna) distinctly states that Buka was appointed Yuvaraja to Harihara I and that he was the most famous among his brothers and succeeded Hariyappa Udeyar. A Penukonda inscription dated 1354 A.D. commemorates the construction of the fort by the minister of Verupanna Udeyar, son of Janima Devi to whom Penukonda had been given by Veera Bukka, Raya of Vijayanagar. Another inscription close to the above dated 1364, A.D. mentions the same Virupanna Udeyar doing repairs to the fort under Bukka's orders. The Bitrugunta grant referred to by Mr. Sewell (1356) gives simply the genealogy of Sangama II and does not mention that either Kampa or Sangama II ever succeeded Harihara I on the throne of Vijayanagar.*

* Mr. R. Morris, I.C.S. Collector of Nellore, to whom my thanks are due, kindly sent me a copy of this Copperplate grant. Some letters are worn out, but I read the whole in the original. There is nothing in this document to justify Mr. Sewell's guess. It entirely supports my view. Janima Devi, appears, from other records, to be one of the wives of Bukka and Virupanna Udeyar was his son by her.

Kampa, entrusted with the work of conquest in the Eastern Districts by his brother Harihara I, was eminently successful. He was a sort of viceroy or general under his brother, and his son Sangama II succeeded him in his office. Vidyaranya, with a view to strengthen the position of the newly established empire, lent the services of his able brother Sayana to Sangama, while he controlled the work of the empire from his seat at the Capital. It would be absurd to suppose, that under the control and guidance of Vidyaranya, there could have been any disturbances among the brothers themselves about the succession to the throne. All the inscriptions agree in stating, that as Arjuna was the most famous among the Pancha Pandavas, so was also Bukka, the third brother, among the five sons of Sangama. Signs of weakness or division among the brothers meant certain destruction to their rising power. Hussain Gangoo declared himself king in 1847 and was a powerful warrior and a keen sighted statesman. He was their next door neighbour. Any rumours of internal dissensions among the Vijayanagar princes, at this early stage of their political existence, would have furnished him with great advantage. He would not only have wrested large provinces from them, but would also have captured Vijayanagar itself and would have dealt a death blow to their rising power. It was a master stroke of policy on the part of Vidyaranya to have secured the co-operation of all the brothers in strengthening the defences of the newly formed empire and in putting large provinces under the command of brothers who were faithful to each other, who recognised the able guidance of their spiritual and temporal Guru, who readily followed his unerring projects for the consolidation of the central royal power, whose strength meant

their own safety and whose weakness was to be their utter destruction. Vidyaranya was equally politic and judicious in the disposal of his own illustrious brothers and the important religious, political and literary work allotted to them. Bhognatha sat on the religious throne of Sringeri as its Jagat Guru and commanded great spiritual influence over the Hindu princes and population. Sayana acted the part of a minister to Sangama II in Nellore. Vidyaranya was himself a gigantic intellect. He seems to have wielded his spiritual and temporal powers from Vijayanagar with a rare tact and foresight, which would have done credit to the greatest statesmen and emperors of the world. In the face of such overwhelming and clear evidence, it is really difficult to see what Mr. Sewell means when he says "That Bukka somehow got the upper hand as early as 1354, declared himself king, afterwards claiming to have immediately succeeded Harihara". What special purpose could Bukka serve by claiming to have immediately succeeded Harihara, Mr. Sewell does not explain, neither does he quote any authority for his inferences. The inscriptions discovered up to date, do not, in the least, support his view. We can hardly believe that Bukka had any fear of break in his service and the consequent result of obtaining suitable pension at the termination of his rule. A long interval of eleven years separates the supposed death of Harihara I in 1343 and Bukka "Somehow getting the upper hand in 1354 A. D." Mr. Sewell would have been more logical had he attempted to explain what Bukka was doing all this time and under whom he was serving. If Kampa or his son Sangama ruled as Prince in Vijayanagar we should certainly have had some inscriptions supporting their pretensions. On the other hand,

all the Sasanas are one in saying that Bukka I succeeded Harihara I and his son Harihara II succeeded him. So far as documentary evidence goes, no inscription of Kampa or Sangama making any grants in Vijayanagar or even in long distances from it are available. Sangama's grant in Bitrugunta (Nellore Dt.) simply confirms the view of his holding a Provincial Government and making grants in his own name as did the other princes of Vijayanagar in the various provinces which they ruled as governors or Viceroys subject to the central authority of the King at Vijayanagar. The genealogy of Sangama II was necessarily the genealogy of the ruling monarch, who was his own paternal uncle. Other inscriptions show that Bhaskara, Virupanna, Tipparaja, Chikkaraja, and Harihara, all sons of Bukka, held not only provincial Governments but also made grants in their own names and gave genealogies similar to that of the ruling sovereign. In some of these grants they have even assumed all the imperial titles and there is nothing remarkable here to call for any special comments as they were the sons of the ruling monarchs and had special privileges which, others of inferior rank, could not assume. A copperplate grant dated 1354 A.D. (Morsallapalli) records a gift by Vira Bukkaraya. Another inscription dated Saka 1202 or A. D. 1280. (Mudagiri) records that Bukka Udeyar Senior, Thuppada Nagaanna Udeyar and Thippanna Udeyar were unwilling to give up Sosavur situated in the Kali Nadiyamanad four thousand.*

* Mr. Rice dates this inscription in his English translation as 1359 A. D. (In, E. C. Vol. VI page 65 Mudagiri 25). I have read the original, the Saka date 1202 "Virodhikruti kartika is clearly given." This corresponds to 1280 A. D. But in his transliteration Mr. Rice has the goodness to give Saka 1282 i.e., A. D. 1280 and Vikarishamvatvara. Further on Rice has the passage as "Bhaskara Tapuvarayara Ganda Hinduraya Sukatana"

whereas in the original it is clearly given as "Cholaraya Sukatana". It is a wonder to me how a gentleman of Mr. Rice's pretended experience could have his transliteration different from the original and his translation different from his transliteration (see pages 63, 149 and 250 of the above volume) Mr. Rice changes his cyclic years from Virodhikrntu to Vikari in the transliteration an interval of 12 years from the latter to the former and 48 years from the former to the latter. The cyclic year Vikari agrees with Saka 1282. As some older Udeyars are mentioned, it is possible to conjecture that in A. D. 1280, a feudatory prince named Bukka, with his brothers, might have been ruling in a province under the Hoysala Suvarnay. His son may have been Kampa, whose son was Sangama and whose five sons were Hariyappa, Kampa, Bukka, Marappa and Mudappa. Mr. Rice says, however, "that it is a pity the passage cannot be fully made out as there is reason to suppose that the founders of the Vijayanagar dynasty may have been chiefs under the Hoysalas. Bukka's son Viruppana was the ruler of *Kulasa* and *Araga*." But where the mistakes occur the passages are clear and legible. An inscription dated 1869 A. D. records that Bhaskara son of Bukka Bhupati reigned at Udayagiri and constructed a tank at Pouramamila. Another inscription dated 1367 A. D. found on the tankbund at Chilamatturu says that Bukkayya of Vijayanagar was ruling the kingdom in peace in that year. An important inscription dated Saka 1277 (Manmatha) A. D. 1355 says that when the master of the eastern and western oceans Vira Bukkardaya was ruling in Hosapattana in the Hoysana country the royal city of Nijigalikatakraya. Mallinatha was ruling in Bammattanakallu (Chitaldroog) in peace and wisdom and on that date raised an upper storey of stone for the god Sidhanatha, fixed on it that god's pinnacle and set up a stone swing. Mallinatha gave a town to Dasideva Udeyar at Bammattankallu in 1345. Mallinatha appears to have been a general of great capacity and courage, who had acquired fame even among the Turkish army, Sevanu army, the Telanga army, the Pandya's immense army and the Hoysana army. Even the Suratala king Bahmani Sultan honoured him as a brave warrior. He was probably the Viceroy in the territories bordering on Mysore and was the son of a son-in-law of the Vijayanagar princes. As early as 1343, Mallinatha had to fight very hard battles for his sovereigns at Vijayanagar. From an examination of many inscriptions, it is clear that the early Vijayanagar rulers had very able generals like Mallinatha, Balappa, Bacharaja, Basavyadandayaka, Madhava Mantri and others. All of these seem to have been entrusted with provincial governments, probably with civil and military powers, combined subject to the control of the central Vijayanagar dynasty. Most of them seem to have been closely related to the rulers of Vijayanagar. In some passages they are also called Ministers or Mantris. It is difficult to define exactly the powers they wielded either as provincial Governors and Military Commanders or as ministers. It seems clear that their powers for internal administration were almost unbounded

and they appear to have exercised them frequently to extend and strengthen their positions and even to make grants of villages and lands without reference to the sovereigns who sat on the throne of Vijayanagar. Bukka was the most famous general of his age and his prowess has been admitted as very great in all the Sasanas. It is difficult to identify Hosapatna which was the Royal city of Nijagali Kataka Raya.

Thirty-three miles N. W. of Bangalore a hill called Nijagal contains some ruins of fortifications. It was also called Swaragiri. It was the scene of many desperate encounters in the earlier Mysore wars. To deserve the name of Royal city, it certainly must have been of great extent and magnificence, during the early times. Whether Nijagal is the place referred to in the Sasanas it is difficult to say. The river Hemavati forms an island near Akki Hebbal channel and it is called Hosapatna containing an old deserted fort. Mr. Rice's remarks on Hosapatna seem to be entirely off the track. On page 24 of E. C. Vol. XI he observes "There is no certainty as to this place. Sir Walter Eliot says that the first name of Vijayanagar was Hosapatna which is quite possible as the word merely means "New Town." But that will not be according to Mr. Rice in the Hoysana country. Some other place must therefore be meant. Hosapatna is also mentioned in the inscription S. K. 136 recording the reconciliation of the Jains and Vaishnavas by Bukka Raya. What Mr. Rice means by S. K. I do not know. S. K. probably means Shikarpur for which he has used this abbreviation, but 136 of that place refers to A. D. 1068 and to Chalukyan princes. Eliot's conjecture may be true as still we have a Hospet near the ruins of Vijayanagar. But this will be misleading as Hospet near Vijayanagar was built by Krishna Deva Raya, who lived early in the sixteenth century and therefore could not be applied to the place mentioned by grants during Bukka's time. Referring to the extent of territories ruled by Hoysalas, the readers will see that Vijayanagar and the surrounding country was really once in their kingdom. Mr. Rice says:—"Vira Ballala gained important victories to the North.....and carried the Hoysala kingdom beyond the Peddorai or Krishna, establishing his residence at Lakkundi in Dharwar. He defeated Jaitugi, son of the Yadava king and acquired the sovereignty of Kuntala. He gained a great victory at Soratur over Sevana, the general of Jaitugi and slew him on the banks of the Krishna. He further reduced all the hill forts near the Tungabhadra. So extensive was the Hoysala empire that Vijayanagar may be said to be in their kingdom."

A Malavalli inscription dated 1350 A.D. records that during the reign of Bukka Mutharaya, Bacharaja made sluices to the tank he had constructed. Bacharaja seems to have died with his wife on the banks of the Tungabhadra

in 1382 during the reign of Harihara Maharaya II, after meritorious services and after constructing the tanks of Bukka Raya Samudra, Kirti Samudra, the Mallawee tank, the Naggavvi tank, Bachappa tank and Chowdappa channel. He is credited to have raised extensive areca plantations called Bachanna and Kampanna gardens and set up the God Mallikarjuna. An important document from Sakleaspur dated 1368 A D. declares that during the reign of Bukka Maharaya his great minister Madhava established an Agrahara and gave it to Kashmiri Brahmins. Bukka's fame was proclaimed as far as the Eastern, Southern and Western Oceans. His minister Madhava was distinguished for policy and courage and was an austere ascetic Brahmin of the Angirasa Gotra. He gained fame as a Saiva and subdued this and the next world by his masterly contemplations. He cleared the ruined paths of Upanishads overgrown and dangerous from the wild reptiles of the preachers of evil doctrines. Bukka committed the Government as far as the Western Ocean to his minister. Madhava, in order that his administration may be without trouble, worshipped his favourite Linga by means of daily special rituals prescribed in the Saivamnaya. After a year of their continuance, he requested the permission of his sovereign to grant the Village of Muchchundi and its two hamlets in Nagara Khanda in his own eighteen Mandala country to Kashmiri Brahmins pre-eminent by their virtues in the country of their birth. Madhava insisted that the money for the purchase of this land must be from the products of the land which he owned for himself. *

* Chandraguthi or Chandiakutapura was the capital of the eighteen Mandala country over which Madhava ruled as probably a viceroy. Many are apt to confound this Madhava Mantri with the great Madhavacharya *alias* Sri Vidyaranya. The father of Vidyaranya was Mayanacharya. His family name was Sayana, his gotra was Bhauadwaja. Madhava Mantri, although a Brahmin and although learned was only a second rate man compared to Vidyaranya. Reasons for this are clearly stated in Chapter XII under the life of Vidyaranya. Madhava Mantri seems to have been a Saraswata Saiva Brahmin who is called Mada Ursu in the sale deed of the village in question.

An inscription dated 1368 A.D. (Chamrajnagar) says that when Vira Bukka Maharaya was ruling the kingdom, his Brahmin minister Basavaya Dhannayaka made a grant for the service of God Analeswara of Hardanhalli. Another inscription dated 1363 refers to Basavaya releasing the taxes on certain lands. A Mandya inscription dated 1360 A.D. says that Bukkanna and others purchased the tank near Holabi. *

As the inscription names Bukkana Udayar and as it also says that the tank of Holabi was purchased along with others, and as there is no mention of any date in the original and as some lines have been illegible on account of lamp soot, it is possible to suppose that the inscription refers to that Bukka Udayar, who is mentioned in Mudagiri inscription dated 1280 A.D. already referred to. Mr. Rice's conjecture is thoroughly ill-founded. Nanjanguda inscription dated 1368 A.D. declares that during the reign of Chikka Kampanna Udayar, son of Bukkanna Udayar, an agreement was made by the lords of Thagadur to pay the taxes of the god to the palace authorities. Kampanna assumes all the imperial titles in this grant and says that he was ruling the kingdom of the world, but he

* In the original inscription, no date is given and Mr. Rice clearly says that the next six lines are invisible on account of the lamp soot. In his translation what prompted him to fix 1360 it is not easy to see. Inscriptions collected under government orders should be given as they are found whether they corroborate or contradict our views. Their transliterations and translations should, under no circumstances, be different from the originals. The value of opinions ventured by archeologists will depend entirely upon their adherence to originals. It guesses are made the writers should say so and add them in foot notes, so that if the readers are intelligent and acquainted with the language of the inscriptions, they may use their own brain power and draw their own inferences, otherwise the translation would be greatly misleading and tend to produce much unbounded discussion especially in the case of readers who are not familiar with the language of the original stone or copper plate grant.

appears to have been probably a provincial governor in the south of Mysore under his illustrious father Bukka Maharaya. A Sasana dated 1374 A. D. speaks of Bukkanna as ruling the kingdom of the world when a division was effected between the sons of Kirti Ursā. *

A Sasana dated Saka 1217 or 1295 A.D. says that when a petition was presented to Bukkanna Udayar his father Hukkanna Udayar sent for his son Bukka and ordered him to make arrangements with reference to the the royal channel of Lakhshmipura lying in Bukkanna's territory of Changnad. The date is distinctly stated in the Kanada inscription agreeing with the cyclic year Durumkhi. The mention of Bukkanna Udayar as ruling in Changnad under his father Hukkanna Udayar is pregnant with historical importance and may, eventually throw greater light on the origin of the princes of Vijayanagar. No historian has any authority, unless he is a forgerer, to add to or subtract from the Saka figures clearly given in the original inscriptions, if they do not support his preconceived and prejudiced ideas. Archeologists have no authority to mutilate the originals and set them to serve their purposes, when they go against their pet ideas. The ancestors of the Vijayanagar rulers appear to have been minor feudatory princes under the Hoysalas and before them perhaps under the Chalukyas and therefore could not have left many inscriptions. A few which have been unearthed afford a clue as to their origin. These should be secured with a sacred duty to find out the truth. This is the second Sasana which refers to a Bukka as ruling in Changnad and probably he may have been the father or grandfather of Sangama the father of the five

* Mr. Rice (E. C. Part I Mysore Pages 58, 171) dates it in A. D. 1074. The original gives only the cyclic year Ananda

brothers about whom we now know so much. A copper-plate grant dated 1378 A. D. *(Channarayapatna) gives particulars which have a peculiar interest in the history of Vijayanagar. The grant declares "In the lunar race was born Yadu, from him came Sangama. He had five sons. The eldest Haryappa appointed his younger brother Bukka as Yuva raja or heir apparent. Bukka eclipsed in valor all past kings. When he ruled the kingdom plenty prevailed, troubles disappeared, happiness spread and prosperity increased. Having conquered all the world, he built a splendid city called Vijayanagar. Its fort walls stretched out to embrace Hemakuta. The points of the battlements like its filaments, the suburbs like its blossoms, the elephants like bees, the hills reflected in the water of the moat like stems, the whole city resembled the lotus on which Lakshmi is seated. There, with the Tungabhadra as this footstool, the Hemakuta as his throne, he was seated like Virupaksha for the protection of the earth." Mud-dappadandnatha, was his minister, representation of justice and Lakshmi. Honnayi was his chief wife who was handsome and intelligent. Harihara (II) was triumphant on his throne and made a grant of Jambur to the Brahmins and called it Honnalapura after his respected mother. According to Sewell Harihara was the son of Kamakchi. The brothers seem to have had provinces of their own, exercising royal power, employing their own ministers and making such grants as were called out by the merits of the parties or the exigencies of state policy. They also appear to have acted as ministers to the ruling sovereigns of Vijayanagar. In fact, we find that Kampa was *mamtri* (minister) to

* See E. C. Vol V. Part I Pages 28, 256, 772. Mr. Rice in his translation gives the date A. D. 1337, while in the *Kanada*, it is clearly given as Saka 1217 or A. D. 1295. His reason for adding 62 years is a mystery. In his transliteration page 567, he gives Saka 1278 Durmukhi. Here he adds 61 years to the original. This is a second mystery, which he would do well to explain.

Harihara II about 1380 A. D. and had to employ one Ballappa to administer his province of Hadinad. *

The Empire of Delhi was breaking up. The revolutions at the capital were too rapid and too frequent to allow the Sultans any time to consolidate the power they had acquired by conquest in the South. Hussain Gangoo successfully revolted in the Deccan in 1347 A.D. and was proclaimed king. Mahomedan garrisons were expelled by the princes of Warrangal. Insurrections prevailed in Guzerat. Bengal was virtually independent. Several provinces in the South tried to set up independence and it became a matter of question as to which of the two rising states the Vijayanagar or the Bahamini should monopolize the sovereignty of the South. When Bukka I ascended the throne Hussain Gungoo ruled in Gulburga. There seem to have been constant wars between the Mohomedans and the Hindus, but we have very few authentic details before us. Considering the phenomenal growth of the Vijayanagar empire, it is reasonable to say that Vijayanagar princes had always the advantage over their Mohomedan neighbours. Their grants confirm this fact as they say they were usually successful against the Turushkas, and that their kingdom extended rapidly. Till 1360 A. D., it is not easy to say what were the relations of the two rising states with each other. Early in the reign of Mohamed, large quantities of gold, and silver

* Ballappa mantri is called here son of Sangama Raju. If so, he becomes the grandson of Kampa, second brother of Harihara I. Whether Kampa mantri is the elder brother of Bukka I or not, is not very clear. Hadinad is in the Mysore district. It was the nucleus from where the ancestors of the present ruling family of Mysore first met their success. Two young men called Vijaya and Krishna came to this place in the 13th century and assisted a local chief against his daughter being demanded by the Polygar of Kuruguhalli who was of an inferior caste. Hadinad people were helpless. At this juncture Vijaya and Krishna, by a stratagem killed the chief of Kuruguhalli and Vijaya married the girl. This inscription is dated 1380 A.D (Chamrajnagar) Harihara II was the son of Bukka and Gaurambika *alias* Honnayi and Mr. Sewell's statement that his mother was Kamakshi is without any documentary support.

coins belonging to the Sultans were being melted down by the Hindus of Vijayanagar and Warrangal, and that numbers of merchants were put to death. Bukka and the king of Warrangal demanded the restoration of certain territories from the Sultan of Gulburga. The Sultan was not ready for war.

He cleverly managed, for 18 months, to keep their ambassadors at his court and sent his own to them. He carefully made his preparations and when ready he made extravagant counter-demands on the Hindu Sovereigns. He ravaged the country up to the gates of Warrangal and retired after receiving heavy sums from its Raja. War again broke out between Warrangal and Bahamani. Mohamed advanced against Villampatan, slaughtered the innocent citizens, captured the unfortunate Vinayak Deva and caused him to be shot from the walls of the citadel so as to fall in the funeral pile that was burning below. After a few days the Sultan retired, but was followed and harassed by large bodies of the Hindus and completely routed. One thousand five hundred men returned to Gulburga, the Sultan himself having received a severe wound. These events seem to have been enacted probably during the years 1361 and 1362 A.D. The Hindu commander who fought the Turks bravely seems to have been Mallinatha whom Ferishta calls Bhojmal. He was respected even by the Sultan and was a famous general and brave warrior. Bukka and the king of Warrangal appear to have sent an embassy to Ferozshah, the emperor of Delhi volunteering to offer their services, should an army be sent to regain the emperor's lost power in the Deccan.

On account of internal troubles and revolutions, the emperor of Delhi had no means or inclination to meddle with the Deccan disturbances. Mohamed collected fresh forces and sent them against Warrangal and Golconda, defeated the Rajah and annexed Golconda to his kingdom. He also obtained a magnificent throne valued at four

million sterling, besides immense quantity of treasure. Turning to Vijayanagar, we learn that the Rajas were generally successful against the Mohamedans, keeping them in check and fear. The Princes of Vijayanagar acquired extensive territories, established suitable border garrisons, built fresh lines of fortifications wherever nature assisted them by defensive lines of rocky hills and consolidated their power by wise administration and the introduction of conciliatory laws. From 1366 A. D. the history of Vijayanagar, becomes more eventful and rapidly rises in interest during the next two centuries until its zenith in the reign of the illustrious Kristna Deva Rayalu. The Bhamani Sultan was a consummate diplomatist. He anxiously watched the rapid growth of the Vijayanagar princes and gauged his own strength and that of his formidable adversary before he determined to deal a decisive blow at their power. The fire, which had been kindling between these two powerful states, suddenly blazed and early in 1366 A. D. Mahomed Shah opened his regular Campaign against Vijayanagar. As in cases of war, plea for raging it can easily be found and here it was a drunken draft which Mahomed Shah gave on the treasury of the Raja of Vijayanagar. Ferishta is grand and florid in his style in describing this event. He says: "one evening when the spring of the garden of mirth infused the cheek of Mahomed Shah with the rosy tinge of delight, a band of musicians sung two verses of Amir Khussro in praise of kings, festivity and music, the Sultan was delighted beyond measure and commanded Malik Sayaduddin Ghori to give the three hundred performers a draft for a gratuity on the treasury of the Raya of Bijanagar." This was naturally resented to by the sovereign of Bijanagar who treated the drunken draft with the deserved contempt and gave immediate orders for assembling his troops and sending detachments to lay waste the enemy's country, Bukka

seems to have marched in person to Adoni and thence to Mudkal, an important place in the Raichur doab, a tract which was always a debateable ground in the constant wars between the rival kingdoms. According to Ferishta, Bukka moved rapidly, captured Mudkal and put all inhabitants to sword. Only one man escaped and carried the dreadful news to the Sultan at Gulburga, who was seized with a transport of grief and rage and commanded the unfortunate messenger to be instantly put to death. The Sultan marched southwards taking a solemn oath, observes Ferishta with glee, "that till he should have put to death 100,000 infidels as an expiation to the massacre of the faithful, he would never sheathe the sword of holy war nor refrain from slaughter." The maddened Sultan appointed his young son Mujahid Shah with Malik Ghori as his regent during his minority in case he fell a martyr in the holy war he intended to avenge the death of the faithful at Mudkal. He crossed the Krishna with 9,000 horse without any delay. According to Ferishta Bukka seems to have been alarmed and sent off "all his treasures, valuable baggage and elephants towards his capital and prepared himself to engage the enemy or beat a retreat next day as he should find it expedient." The night was stormy and rainy, elephants and other beasts of burden stuck frequently in the mud and had not advanced more than four miles from the royal camp.* Hearing of the enemy's movement during the night, the Sultan marched towards them early in the morning. Bukka appears to have been taken by surprise and at a great disadvantage on account of his heavy baggage and fled towards the strong fortress of Adoni, leaving every thing behind. Mahomed entered the Raja's camp and put all to death and the slaughter amounted to 70,000 men, women

* The country referred to is a plain composed of a deep alluvial deposit usually overlying gravel. This is called the black cotton soil. In these tracts, traffic is practically impossible for some days after rains.

and children. Receiving reinforcements the Sultan marched against Adoni in the plains of which on the banks of the Tunghabadra, Bukka had taken up his position giving the command of Adoni to his sister's son. Bukka had collected a great army ; Mahomed with a large train of artillery, crossed the Tunghabadra and entered the dominions of Bijanagar, says Ferishta, "for the first time invaded by a Mahomedan sovereign in person". Ferishta is in a sense incorrect as the Sultan of Delhi, a few decades ago, had attacked Anegundi and was several times repulsed before he captured it. The Sultan stationed himself within 20 miles of Adoni where the Hindus were prepared for war. Sewell observes : "It is difficult to locate with any certainty the scenes of this campaign. Bukka marched out with a large force to intercept this move and placed himself on the south bank of the Tunghabadra in the neighbourhood of the threatened fortress. Probably the Sultan crossed the river somewhere near Sirgupa in the Bellary district and fought this battle in the open cotton plains close by". Ferishta's account, greatly colored in favour of the Mahomedans, seems, however, to be the only document on which we have at present to take our stand. I give here a short resume of it. Raja Kishen Ray received the intelligence of the crossing of the Mohomedans and assembling all his first nobles consulted them on the best mode of opposing the enemy. Hajimil, a relation of the Rai, and commander of his armies was entrusted with the command. Hajimal opposed the Mohomedans with 40,000 horse and 500,000 foot. Mahomed commanded his general Khan Mahomed to muster his troops to oppose the enemy. His troops, consisted of 15,000 horse, 50,000 foot and an immense train of artillery. On the 11th of Zeekad 767 Hajri (Thursday July 23rd 1366 A. D.), the armies of light and darkness met. From dawn till 4 o'clock in the afternoon, like the waves of the ocean, they continued in warm conflict with each other, a great number

being slain on each side. Musa Khan and Esa Khan who commanded the right and left wings of the Mohomedan troops were slain and their lines broke, which misfortune had nearly given a blow to their army. Sultan Mahomed appeared at this juncture with 3,000 fresh horse and restored their spirits. Makrib Khan advanced rapidly with the artillery and caused great disorder among the enemy's horse and foot. He was supported by a large number of the nobility of the Mohomedan troops. An elephant named Sher Shikar belonging to the commander, refused the guidance of his driver and rushed into the centre of the enemy's line where he was stopped by the elephants of Hajimal. Khan Mahomed with 500 horse followed the elephant and in this confusion Hajimal received a mortal wound. This misfortune seems to have turned the tables. The centre having broken, the infidels fled on all sides, the swords of the faithful were not yet sheathed when the royal umbrella appeared. The Sultan gave orders to renew the massacre of the unbelievers. They were executed with such strictness that pregnant women and even children at breast did not escape the sword." Kishan Rai appears to have fled to the woods and mountains for shelter. The Sultan is stated to have followed him from place to place for three months, putting to death all who came in his way without distinction. Kishan Rai took the road to Bijanagar followed by the Sultan. He besieged it for a month, but could make no impression upon its impregnable defences. The Sultan drew out the enemy by a dodge. He pretended to retreat and Krishna Rai seems to have caught the trap by pursuing the Mussalmans. Mahomed suddenly fell upon the king's camp but the Raya escaped to his capital. After failing to take the city a second time, the Sultan contented himself by ravag-

ing the surrounding country. Sewell says that Bukka tried to make peace but the Sultan refused. *

A court favorite remarked to the Sultan that he had sworn to slaughter 100,000 Hindus but not to totally destroy their race. The Sultan said that though twice the number of his vow might have been slain, yet till the Rai paid the musicians he would not spare the lives of his subjects, to which the ambassadors of the court of Vijayanagar, who had full powers to conclude a treaty, agreed and paid the money. The ambassadors then pleaded that no religion had ordained that the innocent, particularly helpless women and children, should suffer for the guilty. If Kishan Rai had been faulty, the poor and wretched had not been partakers in his crimes said the shrewd ambassadors. The Sultan replied that the decrees of Providence had so ordered that he had no power to alter them. The ambassadors further urged that as the two nations were living close to each other, it was surely best to avoid unnecessary cruelty which would only embitter their relations. The Sultan was struck by their remarks and swore that he would not, in future, put to death a single enemy after victory and would bind his successors to do the same. This promise held good for some years, but wholesale massacres were perpetrated by the Sovereigns who came after him. Ferishta remarks with a triumphant air (*sic*) that Mahomed slaughtered 500,000 Hindus including women and helpless infants.

* It is clear from Ferishta's statement that it was not exactly to Bukka that he makes a reference but to one Kishan Rai, who must have been likely a general of the Bijanagar princes or probably one of the princes of Warrangal who must have been helped by Bukka to oppose the Sultan in his march. Bukka was admittedly a man of war and with the able generals he had under him and the vast resources he commanded, it would be absurd to think that he could have been so easily defeated. Another incident that strikes any careless reader is the fact that a greedy monarch like Mahomed Shah should have neglected to take advantage of victory if there was one and should have accepted a paltry sum in return for all the enormous waste he should have been subjected to in undertaking this war.

and wasted the Carnatic. Peace ultimately was effected between the two kingdoms and they remained without open hostilities for some years. The Sultan died in 1375 A. D., not long before the death of Bukka I. According to Ferishta, this is made to appear a signal defeat to the Hindus although to a plain mind the after-results greatly reduced the extent of the victory which Ferishta claims for the Mussalmans.

A few questions naturally suggest themselves at this stage. Mahomed Shah's army was harassed by large bodies of Hindus. He failed to take the strong city of Vijayanagar although reinforced strongly. He refused peace till the drunken draft was paid by the Ray of Vijayanagar. Losses on both sides were great. The Mohomedan army would have been thoroughly routed and annihilated but for Mallinatha's mortal wound and his removal from the scene of action. The battle was fought from dawn till evening and the commanders of the two important wings of the Mohomedan army were killed. The heavy artillery was not called into action till late in the evening. Considering the temper of the Kings, the race hatred and the merit they were supposed to get from the slaughter of their enemies, it is easy to see that the battle was furious and the losses terrible on both sides. Bukka was a man of war, so also Mahomed Shah. What made the former inactive when he could have routed the enemy by his presence and reinforcements from his nephew, it is not easy to guess. Both sides were thoroughly exhausted and crippled. The draft paid by the ambassadors bore no proportion to the losses suffered by Mahomed Shah. If the Sultan gained a decided advantage, he would have routed and massacred the whole of the Hindu army. If the Sultan's resources in men and money were ample, if his soldiers were as courageous and spirited as Ferishta tries to make them

appear, it is difficult to conceive why a consummate general like Mahomed Shah should have slept over this opportunity to strike a fatal blow to his inveterate and rising enemy and to have contented himself with the payment of an insignificant sum to a party of his musicians for singing two delicate verses from the poet Amir Khussroo. Bukka offered a most degrading and humiliating insult to the messenger of the Sultan who brought the drunken draft. This was too much for a Mohomedan of such fierce temperament as Mahomed Shah to excuse. The results of the bloody war seem to have left marks of depression on Mahomed Shah, for he made no further war during his life on Vijayanagar. From a careful perusal of these records, this war seems to have been the greatest since the foundation of these two kingdoms. Sewell correctly says that "the narrative of Ferishta is necessarily tinged with bias in favour of the Mussalmans and that it (History) was not compiled till the end of the sixteenth or the beginning of the seventeenth century.*

We can clearly see from the above arguments advanced that the Mohomedans were not victors in the field and that both sides were glad to come to some terms as no special advantage was claimed on either side. The subsequent effects of this war were naturally disastrous in the regions subjected to the movements of the hostile armies

* Ferishta's account is full of misinterpretations and confusion so far as Hindu names are concerned. He introduces Ludder Deo (Pratapa Rudra II.) He has a Kishen Rai when he means Harihara I or Bukka I and he calls Mallinatha by the title of Haji Mull or Bhojmal. The army of Bukka may have been larger than that of the Mussalmans, but the figures given by Ferishta look exaggerated. The description given by Ferishta shows the capacity of Mallinatha as a general for he had succeeded in turning the tables on the Mussalmans and would have entirely routed them and gained the day but for his mortal wound. The battle was fought in the plain close to Adoni and it is a curious fact that neither Bukka nor his nephew, who commanded the strong fortress of Adoni, came to the help of the army when it was disorganised by the fall of their general.

and they were laid waste mercilessly by the uncompromising belligerents. Ferishta is incorrect in his note on the friendly relations between the two States for some years. Peace lasted only for a short time and Mujahid Shah, the successor of Mahomed Shah, soon declared war against Vijayanagar.

Mujahid, son of Mahomed Shah, succeeded his father on the throne of Gulburga and ruled for three years. He declared war and laid seige to Vijayanagar. The young Sultan, according to Ferishta, wrote to Krishna Ray that "as some forts and districts between the Krishna and Tummedra rivers were held by them in participation, which occasioned constant disagreements, he must, for the future, limit his confines to the Tummedra and give up all on the Eastern side to him with the fort of Beekapur and some other places". The Ray replied by a "counter-demand that the Sultan should evacuate the whole of the Doab since Raichur and Mudkal had always belonged to the Anagundi family." He further demanded to fix the boundary at the Krishna and asked for a restoration of all the elephants taken by Mahomed Shah. The appellate Court for national disputes is the tribunal of arms and Mujahid declared war at once, marched in person, crossed the rivers and appeared before Adoni. On hearing that the Ray was encamped on the bank of the Tungabhadra river, he left a division of his army to besiege the fortress, sent a second force to advance towards Vijayanagar, and himself proceeded in a north-westerly direction towards the river. The Hindu king for some reason, seems to have lost heart and retired to

the forest on the hills of Sondur, situated to the South of his capital.*

Vijayanagar grew into a magnificent city with well furnished treasury, powerful armies, strong defence works, and mercantile, literary and religious activity. Learned men and merchants flocked to this imperial city. The young Sultan, having heard great praises of the beauty of this capital, advanced to Bijanagar, but finding it almost impregnable, he moved in pursuit of the enemy in the field.

Ferishta says that pursued by the Sultan the Ray fled through the woods and hills towards Setu Bunder Ramaswar, but never dared to appear outside the woods. The favourite of the Sultan represented the pursuit as fruitless but he would not desist. In the meantime the health of Krishan Ray and his family failed and they were warned to quit the woods. The Ray retired to his capital. The Sultan sent an army after him while he, with Bahadur Khan and 5,000 men, went to Rameswaram to amuse himself and repaired a mosque built by the officers of Alauddin.†

* Ferishta's Beckapare stands for Bankapore, a strong fortress to the South of Dharwar lying on the direct route from Vijayanagar to the sea, hence its possession by the enemy would paralyse trade. Turnmedra of Ferishta must be the river Tungabhadra.

† Burhani Maasir names this king as "Kapazah." Major King declares that there can be no doubt about the correctness of the name. Mr. Sewell observes—"I venture to hazard that if the word had been written 'Pakzah', the sound would suggest Bukka Shah. There is no name borne by the kings of Vijayanagar in the remotest degree resembling Kapzah." The Mohamedan historian had an unfortunate knack for perverting Hindu names. If Pratapa Rudra can become Ludder Deo, Bukka as Krishua Ray and Mallinath as Hajinull, the transition which the name of Bukka had to undergo in becoming 'Kapzah' may have a line of defence in the Mohamedan method of thinking, which is incomprehensible to other nations.

† The story related by Ferishta will hardly hold water. He says: "Mujahid one day went after a man-eating tiger and shot it with a single arrow through the heart. The Hindus, on hearing this were struck with dread." Between Vijayanagar and Adoni there are hardly any tigers now found, but there are a large number of panthers. The records are

Mujahid is alleged to have broken down many temples and pillaged the country far and wide. He returned in great haste to Bijanagar to push on the seige. The Hindu king sent large numbers of troops to defend the streets.

conflicting as regards the building of a mosque at Setu Bunder Ramaswar. Some traces of an old mosque at Ramaswar are shown, but whether it was built by Mallick Kafur is doubtful. Sewell rightly observes regarding Mujahid's movements thus : " It is extremely improbable that a Mohomedan sovereign, could in the fourteenth century A. D., have penetrated so far south with such a handful of men. They would have been harassed at every step by myriads of Hindus, who though doubtless trembling at the sight of a Mohomedan would, we may be sure, never have permitted 5,000 men to traverse in peace one thousand miles of forest and mountain, for Rameshwaram is fully 500 miles from Vijayanagar." The same objection may be raised against the march of Mallick Kafur but Mujahid was not Mallick and never possessed the capacity of that great general. Mullick, besides, was trained in leading large armies, making rapid marches and accomplishing his conquests by stratagie dashes. He started with 100,000 horse from Delhi and must naturally have augmented this huge cavalry with large divisions as he went on subduing kings, capturing impregnable forts and carrynig off immense booty. Mujahid may have wandered impotently through some of the neighbouring woods and besieged the Raya in his capital when he entered it. Force of circumstances made the Hindus well trained to arms and though their armies were not uniformly successful (neither were the Mohomedans uniformly successful) it would be absurd to think that the whole army of the king of Vijayanagar would have been paralysed by such an ordinary act of Mujahid as the shooting of a tiger with an arrow. The events which followed the inability of Mujahid with his boasted valor to make the slightest impression on the royal capital, the bloody battle that ensued and the disastrous retreat of the Bahamini Sultan without the slightest advantage from this large sacrifice of men and money ought to convince all the readers of the history of Vijayanagar, of the untruthfulness of Ferishta's remarks and the credit he wishes to fasten on the warriors and leaders of " the true believers and men of light" in their engagements against the " infidels and men of darkness." An inference to be sound and genuine must be based on indisputable facts. It is unreasonable to think that there were not warriors in the army of Bukka who could have shot tigers by arrows or to have even caught tigers bare-handed. Such acts of courage and skill are not wanting even in these degenerate days of Hindu existence. In Nepal, even in the present day females shoot tigers with arrows and kill them with spears.

The Sultan drove them before him and gained the bank of a piece of water which now separated him from the citadel in which Kishan Ray resided. On an eminence stood a temple close by covered with plates of gold and set with jewels, and venerated by the Hindus under the name of Pultuk.*

* It is difficult to identify the piece of water alluded to. Sewell guesses it at the picturesque lake of Kamalapuram. It is useless to speculate considering that Ferishta wrote from tradition after the lapse of two centuries. Sewell says with great force "the strangest part of the story is that we are not told how the Sultan succeeded in penetrating the outerlines of works and in reaching a spot which divided him only from the inner citadel or the palace enclosure." Abdur Razak gives in A.D. 1443 seven lines of fortifications but it is not easy to guess how many walls Bukka had round his palace. I have carefully examined these historical spots in person. The lake at Kamalapur has a line of masonry wall for its bund and this seems to have been extended on either side to the rising hills and thus might have formed a formidable line of defence. I am inclined to refer the reader to a sort of lake to the north of Kamalapur and surrounded on all sides by rocky hills topped with powerful batteries. Ferishta mentions a rivulet in this connection and this may refer to the broad and deep channel which flows near it. If Sewell's guess is correct, then we have no rivulet there and the enemy's position would have been far more secure. The temple dedicated to Anjaneya was perhaps on the top of any one of the surrounding hills and may have been a place of great veneration. If my guess is correct, then the palace of the Ray would be about a mile to the west protected by three lines of fortifications from the place where stood Mujahid with his select body of troops. Close to this lake may now be seen the ruins of the palace occupied by the famous minister Appaje during the reign of Krishna Deva Roya. There are no other sheets of water round the palace precincts which could be called lakes. Even to gain this lake they must have penetrated through four lines of fortifications, three on the northern side of the Tungabhadra and one on the Southern side. The breadth and depth of the Tungabhadra here at all seasons would have been the greatest obstacle for a foreign enemy to cross. The whole story therefore smacks of pure fiction.

Ferishta continues thus: "the Sultan destroyed this temple as a religious obligation and possessed himself of the precious jewels. The idolators raised their shrieks and lamentations. They obliged Krishna Ray to lead them and

advanced resolutely in astonishing numbers. Mujahid laid aside his royal umbrella and with an Afghan, named Mahomed, crossed a rivulet to observe the movements of the infidels. A Hindu, identifying the Sultan from his horse, resolved to revenge the destruction of his gods and unperceived through the hollows and broken grounds gained the plain and charged towards the Sultan at full speed when Mujahid, by a lucky instant, made a sign to the Afghan who at once charged the Hindu. Mahomed's horse rearing he fell to the ground. The Hindu was on the point of putting him to death when Mujahid, with the quickness of lightning, advanced towards the Hindu. The latter aimed a deadly blow at the Sultan. Luckily an iron helmet saved the Sultan's head who, in his turn, cut the Hindu into two. A fierce battle then ensued in which the Hindus were defeated, but the Mussalman army had hardly recovered from fatigue when the Raja's brother arrived at the capital with a reinforcement of 20,000 horse and a large army of foot. The battle then seems to have raged furiously for a long time. Daud Khan, the Sultan's uncle, fearing for the safety of his king, quitted his post at Dhunnasadra and joined in the fight with gallantry. The Mohamedans were again victorious but the Hindus, taking advantage of Daud's movements, captured the abandoned position and seriously threatened the *retreat* of the Sultan. Mujahid had to leave the field hastily and by skilful manoeuvering extricated the remnants of his army from the hills with about 70,000 prisoners, mostly helpless women and children. Mujahid retreated from Vijayanagar and sat down before Adoni, but after a fruitless siege of nine months, had to retire to his own dominions.* Thus ended the campaign of Mujahid Shah in spite of the successes claimed for the "men of light" by Ferishta and the enormous losses incurred by the Hindus *

* Sewell thinks "Dhunnasadra is a tank in the plain on the eastern edge of the Vijayanagar hills called Donnasundram. The hill is

500 feet and lies within the village of Kanva Tummapuram. Commanding as it does the route by which a force issuing from the capital would attempt by rounding the hills to cut off the only line of retreat open to the invaders towards the north east. The importance of the post to the Mohomedan army could not be overestimated." Ferishta is inconsistent and confusing. If Mujahid was victorious and the Hindus were defeated, the reasonable inference would be that either a peace would have been concluded in which the Mussalmans, as victors, would have dictated their own terms and exacted a fat ransom from the Hindus or that Mujahid would have captured the royal city and its king and mercilessly plundered it. The young Sultan was a brave soldier, but he does not seem to have been a great general as he neglected a splendid opportunity of dealing a decisive blow at his enemy. Ferishta's victory for the Mohomedans seems to have been really a disaster from which Mujahid cleverly managed to extricate himself and his army and marched off to Adoni. This fact clearly shows that he was not a victor and could not have had any advantage in the battle. The brother of Bukka who arrived with timely reinforcements and virtually changed the situation to Bukka's advantage was Marappa who was ruling in the north-west of Mysore in Nagarkhana.

Other sources give the details of this battle slightly different. Mujahid, learning of the return of the Ray from the woods to his capital, suddenly invested the city of Vijayanagar. He was not able to make any impression on the strong lines of fortifications which surrounded the city and in one of the skirmishes nearly lost his life. In another, he penetrated into the second line of fortifications where there was a celebrated image of God Hanumanta which the Brahmins tried to save. They were dispersed and Mujahid struck the image and mutilated it. A dying Brahmin, lying at the foot of the image, thus cursed the king "For this act", the Brahmin said, "thou wilt die ere thou reachest thy kingdom" a prophecy which was literally fulfilled. An image hewn out of a large boulder of granite still remains and shows the marks of Mujahid's mutilation. The last efforts of Bukka to dislodge Mujahid proved more successful, for after a bloody engagement, Mujahid retired with heavy losses in officers and men accompanied by 60 to 70 thousand captives chiefly women."

Daud Khan, the king's uncle, who was in command of a division in the battle before Bijanagar and who was severely reprimanded by the Sultan for leaving his post,⁴ felt greatly displeased. Smarting under this affront, Daud conspired against his nephew and killed him with his own hand when asleep in his tent on the 14th April 1378 A.D. Mujahid reigned scarcely three years. He had no issues and as heir presumptive Daud claimed succession and was at once acknowledged Sultan by the army. But the succession was disputed by many, especially by Roohpur-war Agha, the sister of Mujahid who instigated one of her brother's attached attendants to revenge his master's death. As Daud was kneeling in prayer in the mosque at Gulburga he was cut down by the assassin on the 19th May 1378 A. D. and died on the spot. He reigned for a month and five days. His adherents tried to place Mohomed, his son, nine years old, on the throne of Gulburga; but this was opposed by the princess and Mohomed the younger son of Alauddin Hussen was crowned as king with the consent of all parties.

⁴ Perhaps this temple may have been built on one of the hill sides enclosing the plain of Nimbapur. Even today strong lines of fortwalls may be seen on the road to Bukkasagara, and Mujahid must have managed to scale the first lines of defences and enter into the second.

The Mohomedan date given for Mujahid's death is 21st Mohorurum A. H. 780.

Mujahid became king when nineteen. His father left him a compact and flourishing kingdom, a full treasury, an immense property in jewels and elephants with a well manned and properly disciplined army. Mujahid was tall and majestic and possessed of great bodily strength. At the tender age of fourteen, Mujahid had broken the neck of an opponent in a wrestling match. According to Ferishta the Bahamani Princes maintained themselves by superior valour; for in power, wealth and extent of country, the Rayas of Bijanagar were greatly their superiors. "All Southern

India had submitted to the sway of the Bijanagar Princes. The seaport of Goa, the fortress of Malgoan and many districts of Tulughat were in their possession. The country was thickly peopled and the subjects were submissive to the king's authority. The Rayas of Malabar, Ceylon and other islands and countries kept their ambassador at his court and sent annually rich presents to the Rayas of Bijanagar." Bukka was not idle. He overran the Doab, advanced to the river Krishna and invested the impregnable fortress of Raichur. According to Ferishta, Bulkha raised the seige after Mohomed I was proclaimed king and also agreed to pay the tribute which he had promised to Mahomed Shah."

* There seems to be no logic in Ferishta's statement. Bulkha with his warlike brother Marappa dislodged Mujahid and compelled him to beat a hasty retreat. There is no reason therefore why he should consent to pay tribute simply because a new sovereign ascended the throne of Gulburga. In the terms of peace between Mahomed Shah and Bulkha, in the first war, stipulation was only for the payment of the drunken draft. There is no mention of the tribute in the peace conditions and Ferishta makes no reference to it. It is difficult to see why a victorious ruler should consent to pay tribute to a new and unsettled king.

Farnao Nuniz, in his chronicle, apparently seems to devote a short paragraph to the reign of Bulkha. The Portuguese narrator goes on to say "by his death one called Buca Rao inherited the kingdom and he conquered many lands which at the time of the destruction of that kingdom remained rebellious and by him they were taken and turned to his lordship and he took the kingdom of Oorya which is very great. It marches on Bengalla. He reigned 37 years being not less feared than esteemed and obeyed by all in his kingdom. On the death of that king Buca Rao, there came to the throne his son called Purouyre Deo Rao which in Canarese means a powerful lord and he coined a money of Paradas which even now they call Purouyre Deo Rao and from that time forward it has become a custom to call coins by the names of kings that made

them and it is because of this that there are so many names of Paradas in the kingdom of Bisnaga and this king in his time did nothing more than leave at his death as much conquered country as his father had done."

* Nuniz places the death of King Deva Rao in 1239 or 1240 A. D. Even if a century is allowed to Nuniz, as Sewell seems to have done, the date comes to 1340, but not to 1343 as he contends. Nuniz distinctly says that Anagondi was taken in 1230 A. D. and Mohomed Tughlak remained there two years, this will be 1232 A. D. Deva Rao ruled there seven years and it comes to 1240. How Sewell justifies Nuniz when he is incorrect by over a century, I cannot understand.

A comparison of the various sources of information leads us to introduce the following documentary evidence. First the chronicles of Nuniz who visited the Court of Achyuta Raya in the sixteenth century when the empire was already tottering and who must have collected his information about the old kings of Vijayanagar from intelligent people during his stay at the capital of this great Hindu empire. Second, the narrative of Ferishta who seems to have written his history after the fall of Vijayanagar from information mostly obtained from Mohamedan sources; and thirdly, the stone and copperplate inscriptions which have been left to the succeeding generations by the Vijayanagar sovereigns themselves or their ministers and generals. Most of the information about the ancient dynasties in India has been gathered from the ancient inscriptions discovered under Government control. There is very little reason to disbelieve facts when they are sufficiently corroborated by inscriptions in different parts of the country. Ferishta's and Sewell's histories have to be corrected in the matter of Princes who fought in 1377 and 1378 A. D. Sewell observes that "the decease of Bukka I of Vijayanagar must apparently, for reasons shown, be placed at about 1379 A. D. But what these reasons are, he has not given in his history. Ferishta gets out of this difficulty by calling

the Vijayanagar prince who fought with Mahomed Shah and Mujahid as Kishan Ray, so that, this name may be fixed on any Vijayanagar sovereign, since there was no one in the first period of 170 years who bore that name. A fine copperplate grant dated S. 1298 (Nala) (1376 A. D.) in the month of Phalguni records a grant by Harihara Mahipala, ruling in the royal city of Vijayanagar, of the village of Hebsur with its 40 hamlets belonging to Congonad, on the north branch of the Kaveri in the Hoysana country forming them into an Agrahar named Bukkarajapura in order that his father Maharajadhiraja Raja Parmeswara Vira Bukka Raya might obtain Sivasayujaya (Union with Siva) and, through the removal of his sins, acquire the grace of Parmeswara, on Brahmins. From this it seems clear that Bukka I must have died a short time before this grant. I have read the original in Sanskrit and the language is plain. This inscription irresistably leads us to the inference that it was made after the conclusion of the death obsequies of Bukka Raya by his son Harihara II.* Another inscription S. 1297 Rakshasa A. D. 1375 records erection of a Virakal during the reign of Bukka Raya in honor of Siriya Moloji by Brahmins for defending their cows against robbers. Another important inscription dated S. 1298 Nala on the 12th day of the bright half of the lunar month Aswija A. D. 1376 says that when Vira Bukka Maharaya was ruling the kingdom, Avali Baichi Gouda died and his junior wife Mudagoundi made sati with him. Thus we see Bukka was alive in Aswija of Nala 1298. S., but seems to have died before the commencement of Phalguni in the same year. Aswija corresponds with October and Bukka was living in October 1376 A. D. but Phalguni in S. 1298 of the same year Nala, corresponds with March 1377, A.D. and, therefore, it is very clear that he

* The copperplate grant of Yedatore is dated S. 1298 Nala on the first day of the dark half of the lunar month Phalguni on Tuesday in the constellation of Uttara Phalguni.

died towards the latter part of February or the earlier period of March 1377 A. D. In conformity with this view a large number of grants after this date are recorded to have been made by Harihara II which I shall notice in their proper places in the next Chapter.

Mujahid's campaign against Vijayanagar seems to have covered the period from June 1375 to April 1378 A. D. If Bukka's death took place in February 1377, then, Harihara II must have been the ruling prince who, with his brother, drove Mujahid from the siege of Vijayanagar, took advantage of Mujahid's death and advanced towards the Doab and laid siege to Raichur. No Sasanas have come to light which speak of Bukka as ruling in 1377, or 78 or 79 A. D.; under these circumstances Bukka's son Harihara II ascended the throne early in 1377 A. D.

It is difficult to value the character of ancient princes about whose real work we have contradictory evidence. One who reads Ferishta, in his wars of the Bahamani Saltans against Bukka, will be struck at the timidity and the faint-heartedness of Bukka shown in his engagements against the Mohomedans. Inscriptions however show that he was a man of great courage and capacity for war, before whose prowess all the neighbouring princes trembled and the faces of the Turushkas shrivelled up. As is often the case with great military men, Bukka may have shown on one or two occasions an unaccountable inactivity or apparent cowardice foreign to his nature and thus missed chances which might have proved of immense advantage to him. Even as Yuva Raja he was entrusted with important military operations and was usually successful. He extended his territories rapidly on all sides, placed his brothers, sons, nephews and other relations in important positions. He was ably assisted in his civil and military functions by the counsels of sage Vidyaranya and under his paternal advice, he largely patronized arts, sciences and literature. Prosperity and plenty prevailed in his time.

Religious toleration was a special feature of the rulers of Vijayanagar. His kingdom now extended from the Eastern to the Western oceans and he seems to have exacted subsidies from the kings of Oorya, Colombo, Malabar and other islands. The royal city of Vijayanagar was greatly improved and appears to have attracted the special attention of the Mohomedan princes by its extent, magnificence and wealth. Probably it was the largest city in India, if not in the world at that time. Trade was seriously encouraged and schools were established for imparting spiritual and temporal education. The civil administration had assumed a settled form and taxes were imposed and collected at rates consistent with the productive capacity of the lands. The large number of tanks, villages and towns, built after his name and the names of his close relations, shows his keen interest in agricultural and economical conditions. Temples, agraharas, and canals sprang up in quick succession and the people, as far as we can learn from Ferishta, Nuniz and other foreign writers, were contented, happy, and loyal. Rebellious princes were subdued and their lands brought under the control of the Central Administration. He seems to have commanded the love and admiration of all those with whom he came in contact, and on the whole, he appears to us as a man of remarkable civil and military capabilities. His ministers were able men and discharged their important functions with vigour and foresight. One of these was Muddappa, the dwelling place of justice and policy and an ornament to the Lakshmi of Victory.

Harihara II inherited from his illustrious father Bukka, the wealth of the kingdom together with the wise minister Mudda Dandadhipati. Marappa ruled in the North-West of Mysore and Kampa, had the charge of the Eastern dominions. In the face of clear evidence contained in these genuine documents (inscriptions) it would be unreasonable to suppose that the persons were not what

they purported to be or that they quarrelled for the succession to the throne of Vijayanagar. It is remarkable that Bukka and Sri Vidyaranya, the greatest general and the greatest statesman, respectively, of the age, had so combined their efforts that the empire, founded by the latter, progressed phenomenally "till it reached its zenith" in the reign of Krishna Deva Raya. Their religious policy with respect to the Jains, Mahomedans and Vaishnavas formed an admirable contrast to the religious bigotry and racial hatred which actuated the policy of the Gulburga Sultans. Plunder seems to have been the aim of the Mussalman sovereigns, while consolidation of their power and protection of the subjects brought under their sway seem to have been the goal of the Vijayanagar princes. Bukka must have been an old man at the time of his death. He was in the prime of youth when the city of Vijayanagar was revived in 1336 A. D. by Vidyaranya and made Yuva Raja. He died 41 years after its foundation. During this long period of 41 years, he was its chief military man, and extended Vijayanagar from being a little nucleus of a political state to that of an enormous empire yielding crores of pagodas of yearly revenue. Vidyaranya was their chief guru, minister and counsellor. They possessed quite a large number of ministers who referred all complicated questions to Vidyaranya and acted under his general control and guidance. In ordinary matters of administration, they seem to have acted largely on their own responsibility.

CHAPTER XI.

THE EARLY RULERS OF VIJAYANAGAR.

Harihara II.

Harihara II succeeded his illustrious father without any dispute. He has been specially distinguished as the lucky son of Bukka I by Gaurambika. Bukka had five sons probably by different wives. If Bukka's death took place early in 1377 A. D. Harihara II, soon after his accession to the throne, had to engage himself in a bloody war with the Bahamini Sultans from which he appears to have emerged quite successful. The Chronicles of Nuniz, with reference to the dates of succession of the early Vijayanagar princes appear to be rudely shaken by the clear statements in the inscriptions discovered all over Southern India and the Deccan. Without casting any slur on the veracity of Nuniz as a narrator, a distinction must be made between his relation of facts which he personally observed and those statements he obtained from men who were strong in traditional lore and in whom Nuniz was compelled to place great confidence. As a Portuguese traveller he laboured under special disabilities in the knowledge of the vernaculars prevalent at the Court of Vijayanagar. As stories, his observations may be very interesting, but as facts to be assimilated into the historical fabric they require careful thrashing and elimination. Nuniz was entirely wrong with reference to the dates of the early Vijayanagar rulers. He gives the first king Deo Rao (Harihara I) a reign of 7 years which is entirely falsified by the light thrown by the inscriptions. It would be idle to say, therefore, that Deo Rao died in 1239 or 1240 A. D. as Nuniz says distinctly, even if we allow one century, as Mr. Sewell seems to do, to the Chronicles of Nuniz. History is averse to allowing centuries or even

days in recording its facts. The date of the invasion of Anagondi by Mahomed Toghlak given by Nuniz is 1230 A. D. and as such can have no value in a historical work. Then Nuniz gives Bucca Rao, successor of Deo Rao, a period of 37 years. This brings up the period, as per Nuniz to 1276 or 1277 A. D. Therefore the statements of Nuniz about Harihara II are of no value to a historian as he mentions neither the date of his accession nor the length of his reign.*

Nuniz says that "on the death of that king Bucca Rao, there came to the throne his son called Puroyre Deo Rao which in Canara means powerful lord and he coined a money of parodas and from that time forward the kings that made the coins called them by their names and that this King had a son, who, by his death, inherited the kingdom who was called Aja Rao and he reigned 43 years in which time he was always at war with Moors."

"According to the inscriptions Harihara II reigned 20 years" says Mr. Sewell and that he was the first king who had assumed to himself imperial titles. He gave many grants to temples and consolidated the supremacy of his dynasty over all Southern India. Sayana, brother of Madhanvacharya, was his chief minister as he was to king Sangama II. Mudda, is mentioned in two inscriptions of 1379 and 1382 A.D. as the king's general. Another of his generals was called Eruga. His name appears on a pillar in a Jain

*Mr. Sewell is misled by facts enumerated by Nuniz. Probably he did not carefully read the numerous inscriptions relating to the reigns of these sovereigns. His details about Harihara II have been hastily digested and incorrectly recorded in his "Forgotten Empire." They require to be amended when a second edition is called out. Mahomed Toghlak ruled from 1325 to 1351 A.D. and his invasion of Anagondi 1339 to 1343 A.D. is well borne out by other historical records. The revival of Anagondi as Vidyanager by Sri Vidyaranya took place in 1336 A. D. or 1258 S. S. as given clearly by the famous Hampi inscriptions. Even if Nuniz had confounded the Saka era with the A. D. the dates do not tally.

temple near Kamalapur at Vijayanagar which proves that the king was tolerant in religious matters. Another general named Gunda lived in his reign but his date is uncertain. Another inscription declares that king Harihara early in his reign, expelled the Mahomedans from Goa and that one Bachana Oodeyar was then governor of that place. One of his principal wives was Malladevi or Mallambika. The extent of his dominion is shown by the fact that inscriptions of his reign are found in Mysore, Dharwar, Conjeevaram, Chingleput and Trichinopoly. He was a worshipper of Siva under the form of Virupaksha but appears to have been singularly tolerant of other religions. The latest actual date of the reign afforded by inscriptions is October 15, A.D. 1399." *

Regarding the inaccuracy of Nuniz in his dates Sewell frankly says thus " I can give no explanation as to why Nuniz calls the successor of Harihara II Aja Rao nor to his estimate of 43 years for his reign. The names and lengths of reigns given to Aja Rao's successors by our chronicler proves that by Aja Rao he means two kings Bukka II and Deva Raja I and the period combined by their reigns was only 14 years not 43." To a logical mind Nuniz proves that he was confounding centuries and years, the names of rulers and the dates of their births and deaths. During the reign of Harihara II, about the end of 1398 or the beginning of 1399 a war broke out between this kingdom and that of the Bahamini. Daud was murdered about the latter part of May 1378 and was succeeded by Alauddin's youngest son Mahomed I. He appears to have been welcomed by all parties, so says Ferishta. Mahomed reigned 20 years and was lucky in inducing his maternal

* Sewell is wrong when he says that "the first inscription of his successor Harihara II is dated A.D 1379" He quotes Hultzah's Ep. In. Vol. III page 24 which is also off the mark See page 27 Forgotten Empire. From these it seems plain that Sewell did not consult the latest discovered inscriptions. The whole of this paragraph requires correction.

grandfather Sufuddin Ghori his father's chosen companion and counsellor, whose wisdom and foresight had mainly supported the well government of the Bahamini kingdom since its foundation, to become his minister. Mahomed was a peaceful and virtuous ruler and foreign wars and domestic insurrections were unknown during his time. Considering the licentious times he lived, he was virtuous in marrying but one wife to whom he was loving and constant and in his literary tastes and the duties of the kingdom, he found congenial occupation. During times of scarcity, he got grain from Malwa and Guzerat and distributed the food among the suffering poor. He established schools and endowed them liberally. Mahomed died on the 20th of April 1397 and his eldest son Ghiasuddin, a lad of seventeen years succeeded him. On the 14th of next June, he was treacherously blinded in an entertainment by an ambitious slave named Lallcheeu who aspired to the office of a minister. His younger brother Shamsuddin succeeded him, but after a nominal rule of 5 months, he was blinded and deposed by his cousin Feroz Shah, second son of Sultan Daud. Feroz Shah was a member of the elder branch of the royal family and became one of the most celebrated princes of his line. He ascended the throne on the 15th November 1398 A.D. Ferishta calls him "the merry monarch of the Deccan" and even after the lapse of 500 years his name survives in song and tradition. He was fond of music and drank hard, but this love of pleasure never interfered with the performance of his State duties. He worked assiduously during the day and the evenings were given up for pleasure. His entertainments were open to all. His harem was immense and contained select ladies from all parts of the world including fair Europeans. He was well versed in several languages and boasted that he could speak to each lady in his harem in her tongue. He built a fort and town on the Bhima and called it Ferozabad. Deva Raya of Beejanagar encouraged by the news of constant revolutions at Gulburga invaded the Raichur Doab

with 30,000 horse and a vast army of foot. Mr. Sewell says "the first movement of the Hindu army must therefore have taken place in the beginning of the cold season of 1398 A.D., when the great cotton plains were passable." Harihara II must have been an old man and probably entrusted this invasion, for which Ferishta gives no reason, to his son Bukka whom Ferishta calls Deva Raya. Harihara's son *Bukka alias Deva Raya* may have been the person referred to. The Hindu princes tried to capture the important fortresses of Mudkal and Raichur. Feroz Shah moved rapidly to meet the enemy. The Krishna was in full flood and the Raya was encamped on the northern frontier of its bank. The Sultan held a Council of war, but the advices were not satisfactory. A Mahomedan Cauzi named Seranje read the concern of the Sultan and offered to cross the river with a few friends and to assassinate Deva Raya or his son as chances would permit. Hundreds of boats were prepared expeditiously to cross the river. The Cauzi, with seven of his friends disguised as holy mendicants, repaired to the Raja's camp where the dancing girls resided. The Cauzi pretended to fall in hopeless love with a courtesan. In the evening she dressed herself in her best jewels and when about to start, like a maddened lover, the Cauzi fell on her feet and begged her not to be absent from him. She said that she had orders to go to the Raya's son and could not take any body unless they belonged to the class of musicians. He gave her proof of great musical skill and thus followed her to the tent of the young Raya. Several actors performed at the same time and the dancing girl obtained permission for the Cauzi and one of his companions to show their feats. Having been disguised as women, they entered the tent ogling and smiling and so well imitated the murmurs in playing on the mandal, dancing and mimicry that the Raya's son was charmed with their performances. At length each drew a dagger and like the dancers of the Deccan continued to flourish them making a thousand antic postures in advancing.

retreating and turning round. Then suddenly rushing on the Raya's son they plunged the daggers into his breast, afterwards attacking his companions. Their friends who were watching without the tents ripped up the curtain and entered to assist them. Many of the company being much intoxicated were easily put to death. The Cauzi and his friends extinguished all the lights, made their escape and mingled with the crowd. The outcry became general round the tents. Some cried out that the Sultan had crossed the river and surprised the camp. Others shouted that one of his chiefs with 12,000 men had murdered both the Raya and his son. The night was extremely dark and the Raya's camp extended for nearly ten miles. Various rumours were circulated and the different Hindu chiefs, ignorant of the real cause of alarm, contented themselves with waiting in their own quarters under arms. About 4,000 of the Sultan's troops crossed the river in this interval." "The enemy's foot stationed to oppose the passage, terrified by the alarm in camp, fled in confusion. Feroz Shah crossed the river with the whole of his army before morning and assaulted the Raya's camp with great fury. Deva Raya, grieved by the death of his son, made but a faint resistance. He took up his son's corpse and fled with his army. The Sultan gained immense plunder in the camp and pursued the Raya to Bijanagar. Several actions happened on the way and the Sultan was successful." The Raya took refuge behind the walls of Bijanagar. Feroz Shah sent his brother Ahmed (afterwards Sultan) to ravage the districts South of Bijanagar. Ahmed plundered the country, carrying many Brahmins as prisoners. The friends of these begged the aged king to offer ransom and after much negotiation, the Sultan accepted 10 lacs of Huns" and consented to enter into a treaty. "The two kingdoms were to be the same as before the wars and each party refrained from disturbing the subjects of the other." Mr. Sewell rightly observes with great force "this does not look as though

the Sultan had gained any very material advantage in the campaign, since the true boundary was always a subject of dispute." The Burhani Maasir says that the Sultan began the war and accepted a large indemnity and promise of payment of annual tribute. Mr. Sewell observes "not long after this war, but certainly not before October 15, A. D. 1399 Harihara died and was succeeded by Bukka his son." Sewell is wrong in his inferences. An inscription dated 1377 A. D. records Madarasa as ruling Araga and Gooty when Harihara II was ruling the kingdom in peace and wisdom. Another grant of the same year declares that when Harihara Maharaya was ruling, his brother Udayagiri Virupanna's female apartments and his mother Padmaladevi gave some grants to Veerabhadra God in Araga. An inscription of the same year records the gift by the Nadu Prabhus (chiefs) to Bacharsa's son Govinddeva when Udayagiri Virupanna was ruling the kingdom of Araga. An inscription dated 1379 A.D. Kalayukti (Lunar year) declares that Harihara was ruling in peace and wisdom. A copperplate grant dated 1378 gives a graphic account. It says Harihara was the son of Bukka and Honnaye who was in accomplishments like the science of love, in wisdom like the Vedas. Then like Harihara (god) their son Harihara was glorious as a king. He inherited all the wealth from his father with the minister Mudda Daudadhipathi, for the purpose of clearing away all darkness. He was the cause of joy to all his people. Virupaksha himself as the supreme deity of his family, Kriya Shakti as his family Guru and the minister able in protecting, and punishing did he inherit along with the same city. Harihara II gave the village of Jambur to the Brahmins in the Hoysana country and called it

Honalapura after his mother's name. Chikkaraya Udeyar, son of Harihara Maharaja was ruling in Araga in 1376.*

Mudda was his famous general and minister. He bound down the hostile kings by his policy and was like Sumantra the famous minister of Dasaratha and Rama. Harihara committed the cares of the estate to his minister and was at ease like Hari. He built an Agraharam called Muddadandanayakpur ^c otherwise called Chikkahadaka in the Uechangi Sime and gave it to Brahmins. An important copperplate grant dated 1382 A.D. introduces us to a series of interesting facts from which inferences regarding the relations of the ruler and the ruled, the mercantile activity and their honesty, the state of the commercial and agricultural classes, the means of communication they used for the supplies of the royal cities like Vijayanagar, the state of public feeling and the weight attached to it by the governing officers, the extent of the kingdom and the unanimity among the public leaders of all classes and creeds may be safely drawn. The public leaders of the Vijayanagar kingdom declare their appreciation of the invaluable services rendered to the country at large by the famous Muddadandanayaka in this sasana. These leaders included, among them, merchants, traders, heroes, virtuous men, learned scholars, greatmen, truthful men, self-sacrificing individuals, polite gentry, famous men, administrators of justice, adventurers, descendants of great Lunar families, men distinguished in various walks

* Araga was the capital of Malayarajya or the hilly country. The Santara kings of Hombusche owned it as feudatories of the Chalukyas in the 14th and 15th centuries, it composed of three cities or 18 kampahas (districts) and went under the name of the kingdom of Araga governed by a prince of the Vijayanagar family. After the fall of Vijayanagar prince, the Keladi chiefs held it until they were ousted by the conquest of Hydar Gooty or Chandragooty a high peaked hill to the west of Solab and strongly fortified. The summit is 3,000 feet high. It was once the residence of Trinetrikadamba mentioned by the European writers.

of life and those who established paths of virtue. The grant says "the illustrious Bukka was born in Somavamsa. Nata, Nahusha and other kings ruled the earth but none with such distinction as Bukka. His great son was Harihara II. His kingdom was invincible. He made great charities and gifts. He obtained victories over Chola, Kerala, and Pandya, although he made victorious expeditions in the clear days of autumn to the lotus faces of the Yavana women. Their falling tears (by the death of their husbands and children) made the days always appear cloudy. Harihara was perfectly tolerant in religious matters and his open-handed charity to all, without reference to caste or creed, makes him a great king. Mudda, his famous general, seized many prosperous kings and confined them by his valor. He granted many Agraharas to Brahmins. He protected the various castes with the same love as if they were his own children. He established justice on a firm basis and was ever ready to relieve the needy and the oppressed. Greatly rejoicing in the just and merciful way this minister governed his subjects, the farmers, merchants and all the leading men resolved to pay him (Muddadandanayaka) certain taxes on account of the privileges he gave them and the peace they enjoyed under his wise administration. The names of towns given in this grant show the extent of the empire of Vijayanagar and also the antiquity and importance of many of them. We have here Hastinavate Vijayanagar, Dwarasamudra, Penugonda, Adavani, Udayagiri, Chandragiri, Mulvayu, Kanchee, Padvedu, Chidurangpatna, Mangaluru, Barakuru, Honnavara, Chandavaru, Araga, Chandragooty, Annigeri, Nidugallu, Chinnatanakullu, Taraikallu, Anaviddu, Sari-kalluyu, Tilakalambi, Singpattana, etc. The Mayorality of all these and many other towns were conferred on this minister and certain collections on merchandise were given to this minister by way of gratitude. The details about the customs and the different articles of trade lead the readers irresistibly to the conclusion that the merchants

had a Chamber of Commerce or a union at the capital cities and their arrangements were sacredly respected by others in the mofussil. Carts, elephants, bullocks, donkeys and other beasts of burden are clearly mentioned; and the traffic seems to have been immense in spices, grains, piecegoods, foodstuffs, horses, cattle, agricultural produce and manufactures of all varieties. It may be significantly noted here that if the merchants had shaky accounts or consciences, the enforcement of these resolutions would have been simply impracticable. The sums mentioned refer to small gold coins of different values and the supervising agency to control such small items from thousands of mercantile firms would have found its work impossible, and the cost of its maintenance quite out of proportion to the sums collected. The honesty of merchants seems to go down in proportion to the elaboration of rules of evidence and the loop-holes afforded them to rush to ruinous litigation and defeat their creditors.

Harihara must have been highly flattered by the good administration inaugurated by this minister and to have allowed the people to express their loyalty and gratefulness by the cession of taxes on certain articles of consumption. From this grant it is made clear that Harihara's kingdom was peaceful, his subjects were intelligent, appreciative, grateful and loyal and that his empire extended over the whole of Southern India and portions of the Deccan and the whole of the East Coast up to Bengal.

The inscription says that the Mahomedans were defeated by Harihara. It is instructive to note that public opinion had great weight even among the most despotic forms of government and its officers were often made to feel it by the acts of the public.

Mr. Rice gives a wrong date in his translation. I have seen the original and it gives Saka 1183 Daudubhr or A.D. 1261. This is a peculiar basava and probably refers to some early king as the city of Vijayanagar is not named, E.C. Vol. XI pages 63 and 116.

A Sasana dated 1382 A. D. records that Vijaya named Harihara granted to Brahmins Sunkaripura. Another dated 1383 A. D. (*Dundubhi*) speaks of some grant to Mudda Dannayaka during Harihara's reign, but is considerably defaced. A grant dated S. 1307 (1385 A. D.) Raktakshi declares that during the prosperous and increasing reign of Harihara, his great house minister Madhava Mantri gave the Ambalikodigi to Dasamarsa. *

A copperplate grant dated 1386 A. D. *Krodhana* records that Harihara gave to Brahmins Ghattadahalli in the Seganad in Hoysana Kingdom and named it Sarvagnya Harihara Maharaya Puram. A Sasana dated Prabhava 1387 A. D. records that when Harihara was ruling with Muddappa as his minister, the lord Malagarsa of the "Kashmirivamsa" had the broken *Kalasa* of the Kesava's Temple at Beluru restored with gold.

A Sasana dated 1388 A. D. declares that when Harihara was ruling in Vira Vijayanagari, the elders of Senaguna bowed to the virtuous Yati Bhadra Deva who obtained *Siddhi*. Another of the same date records that when Harihara was ruling a prosperous Kingdom some merchants made a division of lands in Arahanahalli.

An inscription dated 1390 A. D. records Thippanaiku granting land to God Mylara during the reign of Harihara and his great minister Mallappa Odeyar ruling in Araga. Another of the same year says that when Harihara was ruling the kingdom in glory a great number of gowdas (village and district officials) granted villages in order that merit may accrue to their popular king. This shows the

* This Madhava Mantri is the son of Chaunda and disciple of Kasivitasa Kriyavakta. He must not be mistaken for the great sage Madhvacharya (Vidyaranya) whose status and intellect was the highest in India at that time. For full arguments on this important question refer to next chapter.

* I quote so many inscriptions to show that Harihara II was ruling up to a later date than 1399 A. D. fixed for his death by European writers and that the inscriptions are trustworthy and speak of his rule at least up to September 1401 A. D.

appreciation of the King's rule by the lower classes and their gratitude towards him.

A *sasana* dated 1391 A. D. relates that during Harihara's reign a part of the customs in Yedatore was set apart for God Ankanatha. One dated 1392 A. D. declares that a Raja went to Swarga during Harihara's reign and his wife made *sati* with him. An inscription dated 1393 A. D. (*Srimukha*) records the grant of land to a Brahmin when Bukka's son Harihara was ruling the empire. A copperplate grant records that when Harihara ruled in magnificence in Vijayanagar, by his order Subbana Odeyar ruled the Araga Kingdom and a grant of land was made to Ramachundra Saraswathi Odeyar, free of all imposts. In 1394 A. D. Somanna Odeyar ruled Araga under Vira Harihara Maharaya. According to an inscription found in Kamakshi Temple in Conjeevaram the *vinmana* was built by Harihara in 1396 A. D. A Chilamakuru inscription records under date 1383 A. D. the endowment to the shrine by Harihara of Vijayanagara. A copperplate grant dated 1394 A. D. states that in Yadu's line rose Sangama. Bukka was his most famous son. His eldest son was Harihara II who ruled in the royal city of Vijayanagar. From him followed the sixteen grand gifts and nourished the tree of Dharma. At the time of the moon's eclipse, Harihara made a gift of two villages at the confluence of the Haridra with the Thungabhadra, where "myriads of Thirthas unite" to Narasimbhatta one for his astrological abilities and another for writing this *sasana*.*

Haridra is a stream flowing from the famous "Sulekere" (dancing girls' tank) constructed in the 11th century A. D. by Santava daughter of King Vikrama Raja. His capital called Swargavati was submerged when the tank was full and he called his daughter Sule or prostitute in his irritation at the loss sustained by her careless act. The tank is the finest in Southern India having a circumference of 40 miles. The drainage of 20 square miles is received through a gorge and the defile between the hills being narrow the bund is very small, but of stupendous width height and strength. The irrigable area under the tank is 20,000 acres, and is mostly covered by dense jungle. In spite of the tremendous force of the rushing waters the embankment has remained firm for nearly 1,000 years without repairs and shows the great engineering skill of the ancient workmen in India.

The house minister of Harihara II, Gundappa Dannayaka made a present of bell metal lamps to some God in Vijayanagar in 1395 A. D.

During the reign of Harihara II from 1377 to 1404 A. D., the empire seems to have been peaceful and prosperous, and if there were any wars with the Mohomedans they must have been of a minor nature whose results, probably, were in favour of the Hindu Princes. Araga was an important province ruled by those in whom the Vijayanagar Emperors had the greatest confidence. The ministers were also Dannayakas or Commanders of armies. When occasions arose they fought battles for their masters, and generally seem to have been men of approved military capacity and courage. Many of them distinguished themselves as statesmen of rare skill and foresight. The palace establishment appears to have been a huge collection of guards, horsemen, clerks, servants, artisans, priests, trainers of elephants, horses and wild beasts, wrestlers, gymnasts, accountants, newsbearers, store-keepers, carriers, doctors, and literary men, dancing and singing men and women, and all such persons who pandered to the tastes of the royal masters, and who were attracted to these courts by their liberality and magnificence. An inscription dated 1396 A. D. (Dhatu) records that Bachana Odeyar sat on the throne in Bandanike, in Banavasinad, when Harihara Maharaya was ruling the kingdom in peace and prosperity, when a grant of customs was made for temple repairs. The Viceroys under Vijayanagar monarchs had their "*thrones*" on which they sat and carried on their Political business, similar to their suzerain lords, and under their general control and authority. A copperplate grant of the same date, records the grant of an Agrahar to the Brahmins called Hariharapura on the banks of the Thungabhadra near Hasana in Sigenad during the eclipse of the moon. An inscription dated 1397 A. D. (*Isvara*) says that in the extreme South of Jambu Dwipa is the glorious Temple of

Kesava in Velapuri (Belur). The Savas adore him as Siva, the Vedanthis as Brahma, the Buddas as Buddha, the Nayyayikas as Kartha (Creator), the Jains as Arha and the Mimamsakas as Karma. God Kesava gives sight to the blind, raises the poor to royalty, causes the lame to walk, and makes the dumb eloquent. The union of Sangama with Sarada produced five sons. The first was Harihara I and the third was his illustrious brother Bukka. Harihara II was born to Bukka. When Vira Harihara Maharaya was ruling, in the new royal city of Vijayanagar, his extensive empire in wisdom and peace, devoted to his feet, distinguished for counsels, and attraction for victory was his famous commander-in-chief Gunda Dundanatha, into the flames of his valour, the Yavana, Turuka, Andra and other kings fell like moths. Anga lost his limbs, Kalinga fell senseless, Ghurjaras got lever, Panchalas were almost dead, Syndhavas fell into the ocean. Andhras got blind, Cholas were caught in the nets of skirmishers when Gundanatha thought of war. When he became the head of all Vijayanagar troops, Anga broke in battle, Kalinga bolted, Andhras ran into caves, Ghurjaras became silent, Konkana and Kataka drove into the corner, and Cholas and Pandyas hid themselves in hills. He dragged the proud Turukas, and confined Saipa, Patheya and other generals, like so many apes in his stables. Jaista and Kanista were also seized by the throat. He was like Maruti (Anjanaya) to Rama. Then follows a list of the important countries, where this famous general and conqueror Gunda, set up golden pillars of victory. He set up "Satakumbhalankrita Jayastambhas" in the interior of Anga, Vanga, Kalinga, Katora, Kambhoja, Sinhana, Tuluva, Magadha, Mallana, Kerala, Oddya, Jina, Joniga, Arimana, Konkana, Chera, Chola, Pandya, Vidarbha, Sourashtra, Kuru, Maru, Pancha, Panchala, Magavayya, Telanga, Parasika, Pariyatra, Kolbana, Kashmira, Berbera, Bhotta, Maha Bhotta, Kaka, Maka, Ekapada, Bodamukha, and Kendu. Under the orders of Harihara Maharaya, Gunda restored the grants

which Vishnu Vardkana Bitti Deva Raya had made to God Kesava, and which had been reduced by lapse of time. *

Gunda built with seven storeys the Gopura (tower) over the doorway in Belur which Ganga Salar, the Turuka of Kuluburge, had come and burnt, and set up on its summit a golden Kalasa. *

A Sasana dated 1397 A. D. records that Narayanadeva Odeyar, son of Mallappa, brother of Harihara II, came to the junction of Kauveri and Kapila and granted an Agrahara called Pratapa Hariharapura in the Chennapatna Nad to Brahmins for the long life and prosperity of his uncle. *

There are two inscriptions under the same date which record the grant of Hemmuge to Varada Bhatta by Harihara II and a grant of a village to Sarvagnya Puri Sripada by the Nad people. An inscription dated 1399 A. D. records that Chendagowndy became a sanyasini, when Harihara Maharaya was ruling. *

* This Sasana gives particulars which have a great significance. Belur was an influential suburb of Dwarasamudra (Hala Bedu) under the Hoysala Bellalas. Channakesava was adored by all sects alike for the succour He gave to the truly distressed. The identity of Vijayanagar is established beyond any doubt as being placed near Pampasarovar. Gunda seems to have been commander-in-chief of Vijayanagar forces after the famous general Mallinatha. The inscription also shows that Gunda conquered many Turuka or Mohomedan generals and confined them in his stables. The establishment of pillars of victory in the countries named above calls for some remarks. Pillars of victory cannot be established in unconquered countries and in the provinces of powerful hostile princes. If the statements in the inscription are correct the countries conquered by the commander-in-chief must have been annexed to Vijayanagar or must have owned its nominal sway. As in Asoka's time so also in this instance pillars of victory were set up on a large scale mostly in their own territories and some in those of friendly or subordinate sovereigns who could not take any objections for fear of offending rising and powerful princes.

This proves that there was great affection among the ruling princes of Vijayanagar and their numerous cousins and relations, thus accounting for the phenomenal growth of this mighty empire.

"A female Sanyasi is a rarity. Now and then yogins or women practising Yoga are seen. Among Brahmins males cannot become Sanyasins." But among the Sudras if a woman earns gnana or practises yoga, her guru may allow her to use "ashes and kavi clothes".

A sasana dated 1392 A.D. says that Raya Setties made a grant of money realised by oil mill taxes to Chennakesava for "Nanda Dipa" to increase the extent and prosperity of Harihara's Kingdom.

A grant of land in 1400 A. D. is recorded during the reign of Harihara II. A sasana dated S. 1325 (1403 A. D) (Swabhanu) records that the Naika Vadics of Alur made a grant, during the reign of Harihara Maharaya for the support of dancing girls in the temple of Desanatha.

Another of the same date records the grant of six villages to Vittana Odeyar ruling in Araga. *

An inscription dated 1403 A. D. records the grant of the villages given by the cultivators of the 18 Kampanas to Vittana Odeyar to the Brahmins during the prosperous reign of Harihara II. This throws light on the culture of Harihara II. He was noted for his proficiency in music and poetry and also for his devotion to his father. An inscription dated 1404 A. D. states that under the orders of Harihara II, who ruled in Vijayanagar, protecting the *Yarnasrama Dharmas*, when Rayappa Odeyar's son Vittana Odeyar was protecting the Araga Kingdom a grant was made by the Nads of 18 Kampanas to God Kalinatha. This is dated Poornama of Phalguna of Swabhanu and therefore corresponds with middle of March 1404 A. D. We have now clearly seen that up to this period Harihara II was ruling and under his direct orders Viceroy

* It is a meritorious act to keep a perpetual light before God and it is considered to be efficacious in averting evil of all sorts.

*The father of Vittana is called here Hemadri and is distinguished as a Brahmin Chief Minister. Kriyasakti was the Guru of Madhava Mantri, and therefore Hemadri and Vittana seem to be his disciples. Vittana Odevar is called Brahma Kshetri and belongs to Bharadwaja Gotra. Probably these were descendants of Senkappa and Rayappa famous Mantris, under some old sovereigns and may have belonged to the Sarawathi Brahmins emigrating from Kashmir.

were ruling in Araga, Mulvagal, Nellore, Seerungapatam and other places. *

We now come to the most important inscription which refers to the death of Harihara II. Vittana Odeyar, ruler of Araga, granted Mukti Hariharapura to the Brahmins for the spiritual benefit of Harihara Maharaya on the 15th day after the death of that fortunate monarch. This grant is dated Ekadasi of the first half of Aswija in Tarana and clearly records the date of the death of Harihara II. The original runs thus : Harihara Maharaya died on the 11th of Bhadrapad I (rainy season) in Tarana S. 1326 (1404 A. D.)." No more inscriptions have been discovered as yet which relate to Harihara's rule after this year. In the absence of further documentary evidence, the death of Harihara II must be placed in September 1404 A. D. *

A few observations on the character and general administration of Harihara II will not be out of place here. He seems to have been a middle-aged man when he ascended the throne. The Kingdom founded by Vidyaranya, and extended under his able counsel during the reign of Harihara I and Bakka I had been prosperous and consolidated. Harihara II seems to have been a man of great culture, refinement and generous instincts. His

* Araga seems to have been formerly the capital of the Malava Rajya (hilly country) and comprised 8 royal cities and 18 Kampanas. A Kampana means a district ruled over by a military officer exercising also civil powers. A Viceroy seems to have been appointed here from the Vijayanagar court with a "throne" and ample civil and military authority under the direct control of the Vijayanagar Emperor.

*Mr. Rice in Ep. C. Vol. VIII. Pt II pp. 188, 338 and 589, thoroughly contradicts himself and in his Introduction makes no note of this important historical fact. Mr. Rice quotes in his transliterations falsely and at variance with the original. In his translation he contradicts himself. The original distinctly says Etadasi and Monday. The translation makes it Sunday while the transliteration records as Da-ami and Saturday. Mr. Rice seems to be in hopeless confusion. Mukti means salvation and Mukti Hariharapura means the gift of Hariharapura for his salvation. The originals are fully quoted and discussed in my notes on p. 220 of my History of Vijayanagar to which I refer all those readers who would like to see things for themselves.

charities flowed on all classes without prejudice. He succeeded to the throne when there was a fierce war with the Mussalmans of Gulburga and appears to have come out with considerable advantage to himself and his subjects. His administration, which lasted for about 28 years, was marked by continuous progress and prosperity.

All the inscriptions are agreed in recording him as a great sovereign from whom flowed the 16 great gifts which nourished the stem of *Dharma* (charity and merit). The most distinguished of his generals were Madhava Mantri, Gunda Dandadhipathi, Mudda Dandadhipathi and Vittana Odeyar. That Harihara II was extremely popular and beloved by his subjects as well as his able ministers, is proved by the large number of inscriptions which record private grants and charities by his subjects for the benefit and long life of their illustrious monarch. Undisturbed by foreign invasions, undistracted by internal insurrections, the reign of this monarch, appears to have been one of continued peace and progress. He had 4 sons *viz.*, Bukka II or Devaraya I, Virupaksharaya, Sadashiva Raya and Chickkaraya. The latter ruled in Araga for some time. His empire included the whole of Southern India with portions of the Deccan, and the whole of the East Coast up to Bengal. Gunda claims victories over many of the countries of N. India and probably many of them paid tributes.

Divesting these Sasanas of their hyperbolic language, it may be reasonable to infer that his conquests extended over a larger area, and he might naturally have built "pillars of victory" in many of those regions which he conquered completely or brought under his nominal supremacy. Vijaanagar had grown up into a mighty empire and its revenue assumed gigantic figures. The humbler titles of Odeyar and Mahamandalaswar had been dropped and the imperial titles, such as Rajadhi Raja, Raja Parameswara, and Maharajadhi Raja had been assumed as a matter of fact. Harihara II appears to have been the greatest and the most fortunate Hindu emperor of his age.

SAGE VIDYARANYA

CHAPTER XII.

The Early Rulers of Vijayanagar

VIDYARANYA OR MADHAVACHARYA

It is necessary to make observations upon those characters, who played very important parts in the history of Vijayanagar during its earlier years. Mention has already been made of the names of great ministers, such as, Madhavacharya, Mallappa, Basavayya, Gunda, Mallinatha, Satyana, Kampa, Madhava, Bichappa, Viltana and others. The most prominent amongst them was Vidyaranya, who laid the foundation for the empire and established the famous Sangama Dynasty on the throne of Vijayanagar. It is consistent with the origin, rise and antecedents of the Vijayanagar rulers, to declare that the predecessors of Harihara had already acquired domination and influence in the country round about Vijayanagar, and that they were able to pitch upon a most convenient centre for their capital on the deliberate advice and substantial pecuniary help of their family Guru Vidyaranya.

The city, founded by this renowned Brahmin sage Vidyaranya, was one of the most picturesque and remarkable in India. An irregular plain on the right bank of the Thungabhadra, near Kishkinda was sufficient but no more for its *extents*, on the East and West, it was bounded by rocky granite hills, through which were a few rugged passes. On the South may be seen the spurs of the lofty Ramandug Hills descending into it. On the North, in addition to the hills of considerable elevation, was the river Thungabhadra in a line of extremely deep pools and dangerous rapids which form an almost impassable boundary. Immediately beyond and rising out of the bed of the river a range of still more rugged and impassable granite hills, with only one or two difficult outlets, formed

an outline of fortifications of great natural strength and when the passes and the hills had been strongly fortified by bastions and curtains, the whole place was rendered almost impregnable.

The *enclaves* of the city proper-excluding the important suburb of Anagondi with its strong lines of fort walls-enclosed an area of 30 square miles, and the ruins attest at once to the vast amount of population the royal city contained, while the temples, palaces, stables, monasteries and receiving houses for the pilgrims of Kishkindha are some of the greatest to be seen in India. Many of them still in a good state of preservation speak eloquently for the great skill and ability of the hands which raised them into existence. Whether from the sequestered situation of this magnificent city, the wild and strange beauty of the Thungabadra scenery, the temples and ruins of palaces and pavilions, or its peculiar historical, religious and literary interest, there are few places in India, more worthy of the attention of the traveller than Vijayanagar, the grand capital of the great empire of that name. The credit of reviving a magnificent city, in a most lovely yet impregnable locality with wild picturesque surroundings belongs entirely to the mastermind of Vidyaranya, and the Mahomedans, in spite of their fierceness and superior valour, were never able to capture it, although they often tried their best. The mention of Kula Guru (*Family Priest*) in Vidyaranya's works makes us to infer that there was a hereditary attachment between the royal family of Sangama and the Priestly family of Vidyaranya. Their mutual attachment for many generations culminated in the establishment of the greatest Hindu empire during the modern times. Brahmin advisers, from time immemorial, graced the courts of the Indian monarchs and also attended to their spiritual concerns. Looking back to the earliest history, it is seen that sage Vasista was the adviser and Kula Guru of Sri Rama. Dronacharya

and Kripacharya taught the Kurus and Pandus in all the military arts and were generals of unmatched valour and courage. Dhoumya was the adviser and minister to Pandu Princes. Brihaspathi is the chief councillor and Guru to Devatas headed by Indra.

Amatya Rakshasa was minister to Sarvartha Siddhi, Nava Nandas and after their destruction, to Chandragubla founder of the Mauryan Dynasty. Chanikya was a Brahman of extraordinary abilities, and placed Chandragupta on the throne of Magadha. Yogandhara was the able minister of Udhayana. Yugandhara was a minister of great abilities under the powerful Kakateya Princes of Warangal. The early history of Vijayanagar is intimately connected with the history of Vidyaranya. After him we find the famous "Mantri Appaji" under whose able counsel and control the empire of Vijayanagar rose to the highest power and prosperity. Appaji commanded the highest confidence of Narasimha Devaraya, his eldest son Viru Narasimha and his second son the illustrious Krishna Devaraya. The latter called "Salva Thimma" as Appaji or revered father and was greatly benefited by his wise counsels. During the more recent periods Brahmin ministers have been greatly instrumental in making the fortunes of many of the Native States in India.

Madhavacharya worked with great zeal and tact in consolidating the power of the Sangama Dynasty. When his policy was eminently successful he selected competent ministers and gave them general directions to successfully carry out the wise measures which his mastermind had conceived and put into execution. An inscription dated 1376 A. D. records that how Bukka with the help of Vidyathirthamuni became famous throughout the world. Harihara I and his four illustrious brothers testified their gratitude by making a grant of nine villages to Bharata Thirtha Sripada.*

* See No 41 of Yedatore and No. of Sringeri E. C. Rice.

Inscriptions speak of Vidyaranya with the greatest veneration and the sage continued to be the guardian angel of the empire for over half a century and to have steered its course safely through the political storms which raged furiously round the newly founded empire. The great bulk of his memorable works Vidyaranya seems to have composed before he became a Sanyasi in 1331 A. D. His younger brother Sayana was minister to Sangama II and Harihara II. Vidyaranya does not seem to have taken any active part in the routine work of the Kingdom. There seems to have been a great confusion even among the learned Pundits, over the identity of Vidyaranya and Madhava Mantri, (also a very learned Brahmin). The following facts are offered to the educated public to clear these misapprehensions.

I. Vidyaranya speaks of himself in his Parasara Smriti, as belonging to Bharadvaja Gotra and the son of Mayana and Sri Mali. Whereas Madhava Mantri belongs to Angirasa gotra and son of Chaundra and disciple of Kriyasakti, and was also called Madaausa.²

II. When a person becomes a Sanyasi, he loses his parentage and assumes a spiritual name and the discipleship of his Guru. This is a civil death which entitles him to forfeit his blood relations, property and his parentage so much so that he cannot mention this previous relationship or associations.

The father who commands the highest respect in a Hindu family becomes a chela to his son, the moment the latter mounts on a pontifical throne.³

The Guru who initiates him into the truths of a Sanyasi, becomes thereafter his spiritual father and gives him a separate name. Vidyaranya was consecrated as

² See No. 291 Shikarpur E. C. Rice

³ Mitru Devo Bhava, Pitru Devo Bhava-Upanishads, Sikshap

Jagad Guru in 1331 A. D. and therefore, he could not have been called thenceforwards as Madhava Mantri or Mada UrSa. Therefore events connected with the name of Madhava Mantri after the date of 1331, A. D., must have been enacted by Madhava Mantri or some other man who bore that name. A few inscriptions will be examined to explain what is meant by the above. The earliest inscription relating to the foundation of the Sangama Dynasty and the revival of Vijayangar, declares the sage's name *Nir-mama Ni-ma mendra* or as the Prince of ascetics. He is similarly addressed in a Sringeri inscription which settles the question of Agra Tamboola (or giving first betel leaves and nuts by way of respect). The next sasana dated 1346 A. D. Sringeri records the grant of nine villages to Bharatha Thirtha Sripada, by Harihara and his four brothers, where Bhoganatha, the younger brother of Vidyaranya, assumed the spiritual name and renounced his original family name.

Every Hindu knows that as soon as a man becomes an ascetic or sanyasi he separates himself from all temporal ties and carnal affections, which chain him to his "poorvashrama." He also rises superior to Grahasta, who conforms to the lower rites of *Karmakanda*. The sanyas: cannot dwell upon any aspirations, of a temporal nature. His conception of the Almighty, partakes of all the essence of worship, which is enjoined on sages by Upanishads. It would be inconsistent with the learning and position of Vidyaranya, to enter into any temporal worship, to take vows, relating to Saiva or Vaishnava Agamas and to perform ceremonies with the object of removing temporal troubles and dangers. In all works, attributed to the immortal pen of Vidyaranya, we read the *stuti* (invocation) of Vidyathirth and the great sage Sankaracharya. But nowhere, does he invoke, the blessings of a temporal Guru, like Kriyasakti. No Yati, can be guilty of performing *linga archana* under the sectarian upadesa,

of temporal Gurus, nor could he be ever described as dwelling at the lotus feet of his King. This applies with the greatest force in the case of Vidyaranya. The custom sanctioned by the Vedas in India, requires Kings, however mighty they may be, to go and fall on the lotus feet of their *Kula Gurus*.*

The custom of falling on the feet of Gurus is not peculiar to the Hindus. It is found all over the world with some slight variations. The "Bishop" anoints the king among the Christians and places the crown on his head. The "Cauzi or Moulvi" blesses the Mahomedan' princes. The Hindu Gurus place the crowns on the heads of their sovereigns. The priests have always held this right and no records in History are found of the highest priests falling on the feet of their sovereigns. No Matadhipathy, no Guru, no Bishop, no Moulvi, no Pope, no Saint or no Philosopher ever fell on the feet of their Monarchs. On the other hand the Monarchs have fallen *on their feet invariably*. Vidyaranya worked for a short time, gave thoughtful instructions for the regulation of the political work, introduced vigorous measures into the administrative details, and then withdrew to his more important and congenial work of contemplation upon God and imparting

NOTE.—*Agra Tambula*. It is customary among large gatherings to give betel leaves and nuts to the highest man first.

"*Upadest*"—one who takes a man nearer to the object of his worship.

"*Karmakanda*." The Hindus have two divisions of their rites *Karma* and *Gnana*. "*Karma*" that which is done leads to "*Gnana*" that which is to be Known—God.

See Hindu Law and rites and liabilities of Sanyasis.

When a man withdraws himself for contemplation under certain conditions from his domestic environment, he becomes a *sanyasi* as opposed to "*grhita*" one who lives with his family.

"*Purnashrama*" The state of a man before he becomes a *sanyasi*.

"*Nirmamendra*" Mama is self—Nirmana denotes unselfishness. *Nirmamendra* is the chief among the *sanyasis*.

spiritual instructions to his disciples and explaining the intricate paths of the highly developed "Adwaita Philosophy."

A sasana dated 1368 A. D. clearly states the position and the creed of Madhava Mantri as distinguished from the great sage Madhavacharya. It runs thus—To the famous king Bukka was the minister named Madhava, noted for policy, courage and good qualities. His father was Chounda of Angirasa Gotra. He gained fame as a Saiva, through his master Kashi Vilas. He conquered many countries on the Western ocean, cleared and made easy, the paths of the Upanishads. Madhava was the incarnation of the valor of Bukka. By order of Bukka he accepted the Government as far as the Western ocean. On the advice of Guru Kriyasakti, Madhava, worshipped his favourite linga "Triambakaanatha in the manner of "Saivamnaya" by means of special ceremonial rites and practices. On the 8th Lunar day (dark half) of Karthika in Kilaka S. 1290 or 1368 A. D., Madhava obtained permission from Bukka, to grant a village to Kashmere Brahmins, from his own funds, in order to fulfil the great saiva vow, taken a year before. He was a *pradhani* to the Provincial Governor at Chandraguttipura, who was, one of the princes of the ruling dynasty. The sale-deed of the lands granted to the Brahmins, calls him Mada Ursu Odeyar.

Madhavacharya was born in 1267 A. D. So he would be more than a century old at the time of this grant, and it would be quite unreasonable to suppose that with his advanced age, his previous training, history and work, his unrivalled intellectual capacity, his religious position as Jagadguru and Guru of the ruling family in Vijayanagar,

NOTE The originals have been carefully perused by me. They are clear. This precludes all idea of Madhavamantri being identified with Madhavacharya. The inscription is 32 years after the foundation of Vidyanagar and 37 years after the consecration of Vidyanagar.

Vidyaranya, could ever have been persuaded to take up the Government at Chandragutti as Pradhan to a Provincial Governor, acknowledge any temporal guru as Kashi Vīras and become famous through his grace as a great Shaiva, receive orders from Bukka, worship his linga in the manner of Saivagama and engage himself in wars and conquests. Madhavamantri therefore was altogether a different man and appears for the first time in this sasana as receiving orders for his Government at Gutti from Bukka.

The Status, intellectual and spiritual, of Vidyaranya was far higher than that of the Hindu Sovereigns and he gloried more in the epithet "Karnataka Simhāsana Stapanacharya" (Founder of this Karnata Kingdom) than as Governor under its princes. Vidyaranya belonged purely to the school of Sankara's philosophy, which totally repudiated the doctrines of Saivagama. Vidyaranya denies the authority of "Agamas" in all his Bhasyas. "Sarvagna Ssahimadhuva" was a title bestowed by the gratitude of of the contemporary and succeeding generations and he who wrote the "Veda Bhashyas", who expounded the philosophy of the Upanishads, who sat on the pontifical seat of "Adi Sankara," who established the Sangama Dynasty on the throne of Vijayanagar, who revived Vidyanagar in grander proportions, who caused "Sivarana Vrishti," (rain of gold) to pour, and who strictly followed the grand Adwaita system" so ably expounded by the illustrious Sankaracharya would, we believe, be the last man, to seek the help of a temporal Guru, to take a religious vow for worldly advantage, to get a name as a great Saiva through the grace of a temporal teacher, to perform rites in the manner of a Saivagama, to worship at the lotus feet of the ruling monarch, and to acquire the kingdom from the Princes of Vijayanagar and rule it under their orders.

At the date of this sasana, Vidyaranya, had long ceased to be called Madhava, and the traditions of the Stringer

Mutt, would not permit, its Gurus to be called in such a common manner. Madhava Mantri, seems to have been a Brahmin of great intellectual and military parts and was a later contemporary of the great sage Madhavacharya.

The commentary in "Suta Samhita" is called "Tatparya Deepika" and is erroneously ascribed to Madhava Vidyaranya. But if the invocation is examined in the light of facts related here, the doubt is at once cleared and we see that Madhava Mantri is the author of "Tatparya Deepika" and not the great sage Vidyaranya. The commentator, invokes his Guru as "Kashi Vilasa Kriyasakti Parama Bhakta Padabja Srakau" adjectives totally absent in all the accredited works of Madhavacharya. References further show that Madhava Mantri served sometime under Sangama II was a great warrior, appeared on the political stage, some years after the foundation with the permission of Vidyaranya, wielded supremacy over Goa and Chandragutty under Vijayanagar Kings and was apparently a Saraswata Brahmin. He was also called Veera Vasanta Madhava. Marappa, having conquered the Kingdom of the West, ruled at Chandraguttipura.

To this King was the minister Madhava, whose Guru was Kriyasakti. He compiled the "Saivaamnaya Sastra." Marappa, encountered Kadamba King near Gokurna and defeated him.*

Madhava's titles, in the "Suta Samhita" are exactly the same as in the inscription above quoted. From the list of dates furnished by the Sringeri Mutt authorities it will be seen that Vidyaranya obtained his "Siddhi" in

* Note—Vamana Sastrī mentions the phrase Bhuvan Kavera in respect to Madhava and gives a description of Madhava expelling the Muhamadans from Goa. Vamana Sastrī as well as Messrs. Sivavadham, Rice, Sewell, Fleet, Burnell and other writers, have obviously not gone deep into this important question of the identity of this great sage and the misconceptions they have fallen into could only be properly understood by those who have made a patient research, into the voluminous documentary evidence, now before the public.

1386 A.D. The inscription dated 1391 A.D. referred to by Vaman Sastry, editor of the "Madhava Rudra Bhashya" commemorating the expulsion of Muhamodans from Goa, must certainly refer to Madhava Mantri and not to Vidyaranya who had passed away five years before this period.

Parasarasmriti Vyakhyana, Manusmriti Vyakhyana, Veda Bhashyas, Jaimini Nyayamala Vistaram, KalaMadhavyam, Vyavahara Madhavyam, Sankara Vijayam, Sarvadarsana Sangraharn and others were the productions of Madhavacharya before he became a Sanyasi. His special verse "Vagisyadyasumanasaha," etc., he declares should be the identifying mark for his works. In the commentaries by himself on his "Jaimini Nyayamala Vistaram" he clearly says that his "Mudra Bhutha Sloka" has been used in all his works, to identify them as his productions. But in the works he wrote after he became a sanyasi these seem to have been studiously avoided.

- (1) "Vedanta Panchadasi"
- (2) "Vivarnaprameyasangraha"
- (3) "Brahmavidasirvadapaddati"
- (4) "Jivannuktiveveka"
- (5) "Devi Aparadha Stotram"

and other works, seem to have been composed, after he became a sanyasi as they contain no references to his name or to that of his father or gotra, but only mention the name of his spiritual guru "Vidya Thirtha and Sankara." Vidyaranya's brain was ever active and looking at the quantity, quality and the variety of subjects he has handled with ease and mastery, one cannot but be struck by the gigantic nature of his intellect, and the erudition he has brought to bear in his immortal commentaries on the Vedas.

Vidyaranya's position in the world then, as it is now, is quite unique. No Brahmin minister or adviser in the Indian History, wielded greater power, spiritual, political and intellectual than sage Vidyaranya.

Bukka I and Harihara II were the greatest Hindu sovereigns of their times. Their empires comprised the whole of Southern India, portions of South Deccan and the whole of the east coast including a portion of Oriya. The power exerted by Vidyaranya, was greater than these monarchs. His name implies a forest of learning and no doubt he was the greatest scholar of his age. Even after the lapse of five and a half centuries, he stands far higher than the scholars who appeared since his time.

A small island formed by the two branches of the Tungabhadra is still pointed out as "Sanyasi Dibba" and it is a stone mantapa of humble proportions in which the great sage lived and practised his yoga. Like Chanikya and other famous Maharishis, he led a severe ascetic life, undisturbed by the bustle of the grand city. His whole life seems to have been a strange illustration of what extraordinary intellects can do to the world. It may not be possible to find many names in the History of the World with such a career and wonderful personage and it Vidyaranya stands to-day as one of the greatest men among the historical and literary characters in the world, he richly deserves that proud distinction, by his gigantic intellect, versatile genius, political foresight, business capacity and his simple and devout life. Lapse of five centuries have added a bright halo around his revered name; and the future seems to have a still higher tribute to pay to his unrivalled genius.*

* Vidyaranya had an Indian reputation during his lifetime. His commentaries of the Vedas and other philosophical works, have now reached the remotest corners of the world and continue to widen his literary fame and to add fresh laurels to it by the greatest orientalists of this age, who have to depend entirely on Vidyaranya for collecting the priceless treasures of knowledge from the Vedantic works of India.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE EARLY RULERS OF VIJAYANAGAR. BUKKA II OR DEVA RAYA I

There is much confusion over the events, the length of reign and the identity of this sovereign. Lists of Princes published by European and Native Historians, lead the readers to a state of chaos. A patient examination of the inscriptions preserved in good order, however, help the Historians of Vijayanagar. Mr Sewell, devotes a short para to this Monarch and places his readers in a state of greater historical uncertainty. Whether Bukka II, Devaraya I, or Pratapadeva Raya, were one and the same individual, or were different personages, is a point of great interest, which has yet to be solved by its historian. Mr. Sewell thus begins. " We have little to guide us as to the events of Bukka's reign. But Ferishta says that he ceased to pay tribute to Feroz Shah partly owing to instigation from Guzarat, Malwa and Khandesh. In Hijra 808 (June 1405 to June 1406 A. D.) four years' tribute was owing, but the Sultan took no notice and waited for a more convenient time. Bukka was followed on the throne of Vijayangar by his brother Deva Raya I, the date of whose coronation is fixed by an important inscription at Hassan in Mysore as November 1406 A. D. *

The last inscription of Bukka Raya at present known, bears a date corresponding to April 30th in that year; in Hindu reckoning the 12th day of the first half of the month Vaisakha in the expired Saka year 1328, the name of the cyclic year being Vijaya. Ferishta tells us of an event that must have taken place towards the end of the year 1406 A. D. in which the principal actor was the king of

* Note--Mysore Inscriptions " Rice P. 279 No. 150 Professor Kiel Horn, Ind-Aut Chapter XXIV. P. 204 No 304, and note.

Vijayanagar. This king I believe to have been Bukka II's successor, his younger brother Deva Raya I. *

Mr. Sewell could not have introduced greater confusion into what otherwise would have been simple facts of History. Mr. Sewell does not seem to have read the inscriptions published ten years before his time, by Mr. Rice. An inscription dated 1328, Vijaya (May 1406 A. D.) Jaista, records that Harihara Maharaya's son Bukka Raya was ruling in Vijayanagar. A copper-plate grant dated September 1406 A. D. records a grant made by Bukka Raya Deva Raya. The originals are clear and admit of no doubts. The date of the coronation of Deva Raya, was "*Karthika Krishna Dasami*" (Friday, November 1406).*

Mr. Sewell tries to make Bukka II different from Deva Raya I. Nuniz, another untrustworthy recorder of years and who probably wrote his narratives by what he was able to gather at the capital at a later period observes that "this king had a son who by his death inherited the kingdom who was called Aja Rao and reigned 43 years in which time, he was always at war with the Moors and he took Goa, Chaul, Deball, Ceillao and all the country of Charamandal, which had also rebelled after the first destruction of this kingdom and he did many other works, which are not narrated

Note * S. I. Insp. I. 82 Dr. Hultzsch, See pp. 56-57 "Forgotten Empire" Sewell.

* Note—See No 108 Davanagere E. C. No 28 Mandya and No. 133 of Hassan. M. G. Vol. I. P. 346, Rice.

I have read the originals and they are in a perfect state of preservation Mr. Rice seems to have overlooked many important historical facts in his great haste to get through the inscription work. He does not make even an apology to reconcile his own inconsistencies. The solution of such important points, which the public expected of him, from the facilities afforded to him by the Government of Mysore, seem to have been sadly neglected.

here. This King made in the city of Bisnagar, many walls and towers and enclosed it anew. Now the city at that time was of no use, there being no water in it by which could be raised gardens and orchards, except the water of the Nagundyam, which was far from it, for what water there was in the country was all brackish and allowed nothing to grow; and the King desiring to increase that city and make it the best in the kingdom determined to bring to it a very large river which was at a distance of five leagues away, believing that it would cause much profit, if brought inside the city. And so he did, damming the river itself with great boulders and according to story, he threw "in a stone, so great that it alone made the river follow the king's will." It was dragged thither by a number of elephants of which there were many in the kingdom, and the water so brought he carried through such parts of the city as he pleased. This water proved of such use to the city, that he increased his revenue by 350,000 pagodas or about 14 lacs of rupees. By means of this they made round about the city, a quantity of orchards and gardens, and great groves of trees and vineyards of which this country has many and many plantations of lemons, and oranges and roses and other trees which in this country bear very good fruit. But on this turning of the river, they say, the king spent all the treasure that had come to him from the king his father, which was a very great sum of money. This king left a son called Visa Rao, who inherited the kingdom on the death of his father and he ruled 6 years and during this time did nothing worth relating."*

* Note.—Even allowing Nuniz a century which Mr. Sewell gladly grants him as a Historian, Nuniz is false in his dates. Foundation of Vijayanagar 1336 A. D. First King Deo Rao ruled seven years. This brings Nuniz and Sewell down to 1343 A. D. Pukka Rao ruled 37 years. This brings them to 1380 A. D. Potcory Deo Rao died in 1399 A. D. This gives him a reign of 19 years. Aja Rao rules for 13 years and this brings them to 1412 A. D. These are now found to be quite incorrect.

An inscription (Tharana S. 1326), dated November 1404 A. D. states that when Virupaksha Maharaya son of Virapratapa Harihara Maharaya, was ruling in Vijayanagar, Vittanna, ruler of Araga, under his orders made a grant to Goddess Bani in Hirigundi. It seems that Bukka II was not present when his father Harihara II died, in the same year, two months earlier. *

This may also show that after the performance of his father's obsequies, Bukka II may have gone on his royal tour of inspection, leaving his younger brother Virupaksha at Vijayanagar to attend to current duties. A few years later we find Sadasiva Raya doing the same thing. Dr. Burnell gives to Harihara II 1401 A. D. as the latest, and names his son as his successor from 1401 to 1418 A. D. This king married Thippamba. He also states that the elder son of Bukka II, Devaraja, Vera Deva or Vira Bhupati as ruling from 1418 to 1434 A. D. and notes the name of his brother Krishna Raja. He states that Deva Raya married Padmamba and Mallambla and was succeeded by Vijaya

and we may dismiss Nuniz and Sewell as quite off the mark of truth. See p. 18 ch. III of my bigger History. Nagundyam perhaps stands for the Tungabhadra. Nuniz betrays his ignorance when he says that it is 5 leagues from this city. It is on both the banks of the river as can be now seen in the majestic ruins. Anagondi is situated on the Northern and Vijayangar on the Southern bank. Devaraya's anicut is about 12 miles from the city and is a magnificent work of irrigation. Sewell rightly observes—"Bukka's great work was the construction of a huge dam in the Tungabhadra river and the formation of an aqueduct 15 miles long from the river into the city. If this be the same channel that to the present day supplies the fields which occupy so much of the site of the old city, it is a most extraordinary work. For several miles this channel is cut out of the solid rock at the base of the hills and is one of the most remarkable irrigation works to be seen in India." Myself and the present Raja of Anagondi were greatly impressed with the magnificence of the work which required extraordinary labour, ingenuity and patience. It can never be pretended that the Portuguese traveller had any knowledge of these inscriptions nor the capacity to read the vernacular inscriptions.

* NOTE—See P. 220, my big History of Vijayanagar for fuller details.

1414 to 1454 A. D. and others Proudhra Deva 1456 to 1477 A. D., Mallikarjuna 1481 to 1487 A. D., Ramachundra 1487, Virupaksha 1488 to 1490 A. D.

Mr. Rice observes that Harihara II married Malla Devi of the family of Rama Deva (Yadava King). He was succeeded by Deva Raya or Pratapa Deva Raya, who first called himself Bukka Raya. There were also two sons Chickkaraya Odyar, perhaps the same Prince who came to the throne governing at Araga, and Virupaksha, who conquered all the eastern countries down to and including Ceylon. Davaraya's son Vijaya Raya by Demambika ruled at Mulbagal and seems to have come next to the throne. But there is some confusion in the history here. Devaraya had also a son by Mallayyavi, who ruled at Honavar. During the last two reigns the greater part of Karnata and Telinga with the coast of Canara had come under the Vijayanagar sway. The remarks of Taylor are pertinent. He says: "It is not easy to determine what Prince reigned in Vijayanagar at the period of accession of Mohamed Shah to the throne of Gulburga as none of the genealogical lists agree one with the other. The most probable is Deva or Devaraya, who is named Kishna Ray by Ferista." Trusting to Ravenshaw's lists Mr. Taylor has also considerably bungled in his dates and names. In the long paragraph he writes, no mention of Bakka II is made. Proudhra Devaraya is mentioned as Pandura Devaraya. Vijaya is introduced as king in 1414 A. D. and Prouda Devaraya in 1424 A. D. and he seems to have been the Prince who was engaged in war with the Mussalmans in 1443 A. D., which has been interestingly confirmed by the journal of Abdur Razzak, ambassador from Persia. Proudhra Devaraya is given a reign up to 1450.

* Sewell's dissenting note may be read. See my History of Vijayanagar P. 212 S. 1 Ant. Vol II P. 215 A. Rev. ch. XX P. 22.

* See, P. 189 Taylor's History.

Let us examine the course of events from 1406 A.D., the date of the accession of Devaraya I to the throne and 1443 A.D. the year in which Abdur Razzak made his appearance. The names of Devaraya, Vijaya Devaraya and Proudhra Devaraya appear in the list, but they make no reference to Bukka II, Virupaksha and Sadasivaraya. Devaraya I was crowned in November 1406 A.D., and Harihara II died in September 1404 A.D. The gap is not properly filled up by the previous writers on this history. A large number of inscriptions have been carefully examined by me in the original and the facts supplied by them furnish undisputed evidence as regards the rulers, who governed Vijayanagar during this period. Harihara II had four sons. Bukka II or Devaraya I, Virupaksha, Chickkaraya and Sadasivaraya. Two inscriptions examined carefully speak of Virupaksha Maharaya as ruling in Vijayanagar in 1404 A.D. One is dated Tharana S. 1326 9th day of Kartika Monday and records that Vittana, ruling in Araga under the orders of Virupaksha Maharaya in Vijayanagar, made a grant. (November 1404 A.D.)

The other dated 13th of the dark half of Maragasira Saturday, records, that when Vittanna was ruling in Araga with the permission of Virupaksha Maharaya, the ruling prabhus of the 18 kampanas made grants of lands (Dec. 1404 A. D.)

Bukka II made a grant of an Agrahara called Halamattur to the Brahmins on the Pournima of Kartika in Tharana on a Monday (November 1404). A week after we find Virupaksha Raya as being seated on the throne of Vijayanagar and making grants. In December also we find Virupaksha on the throne. Then we have a large number of inscriptions relating to Bukka II or Deva Raya I. Harihara II died early in September (1404 A.D.), Bukka II, after performing the obsequies and settling the affairs at the capital, seems to have seated Virupaksha

on the throne and apparently left Vijayanagar on a long tour in his extensive territories, for we find, the next inscription of his is dated July or August 1405 A. D., first day of Sravana in S. 1327 of Parthiva.*

In November 1405 A. D., when Bukka II was ruling in Vijayanagar, his palace minister Heggappa made a gift to God Chennakesava in Belur. The Koppa inscription states that Bukka II was the son of Harihara II by Pampa. From these it seems clear that Bukka II was identical with Devaraya I and that the last name was assumed a few months before the coronation. The Kings of Vijayanagar, became the sole rulers of the whole of S. India and their deaths and accessions to the throne, had become events of the greatest political importance. If Bukka II had died in 1406 A.D., before the coronation of Deva Raya I as a separate sovereign, some record of that important event should have been discovered. This doubt between the identity of Bukka II and Devaraya I is entirely removed by an inscription dated Vyaya S. 1328 (September 1406 A.D.) in which both these names occur separately and also together.*

As Bukka I was very famous the later princes added Bukka, Vijaya or Virapratapa as additional honorifics to their names. In 1432 A. D., we find Pratapa Deva Raya Maharaya, styling himself as Vijaya Bukka Raya Maharaya's son. In 1423 A. D., we find Deva Raya II being styled as Vira Deva Raya Pratapa Vijaya Bukka Raya. Here these epithets Vijaya and Bukka,

* NOTE.—See Nos. 12, 13, 128, and 196 of Thirthahalli and 25 of Koppa "E. C." Rice.

* NOTE.—Dr. Burnell and Mr. Rice share the same view. Mr. Sewell has not incorporated these discoveries into his "Forgotten Empire." Much reliable information may be gathered from the inscriptions published under the direction of the Government of Mysore and that of Madras to whom the public owe a deep debt of gratitude. In the genealogical lists given in the inscriptions, Deva Raya I is the son of Harihara II. His son is Vijaya whose son is Deva Raya II. Bukka II was the same as Deva Raya I.

Deva Raya II being styled as Vira Deva Raya Pratapa Vijaya Bukka Raya. Here these epithets Vijaya and Bukka one indicating the City of Victory, their capital and the other, the name of Bukka I, the most famous sovereign, who consolidated their power in the earlier days, were names which subsequent sovereigns assumed as a mark of honor. Bukka II therefore was called so till he was crowned regularly two years later after his father's death and then he permanently assumed the name of Deva Raya Maharaya.

An inscription dated S. 1346 (1424 A. D.) styles the Maharaya as Vijaya Bukka Raya. As a matter of fact the prince referred to was Devaraya II or Proudhra Deva Raya, son of Vijaya.

Bukka II or Deva Raya I reigned up to 1422 A. D. This gives him a rule of 18 years. An inscription dated Shobakritu Sravana Pournima S. 1344 Monday (August 1422), A. D. commemorates the death of Deva Raya I, by his son Harihara Raya forming an Agrahara in Terukanambi* and calling it Devarajapura. He granted it to the Brahmins for the spiritual benefit of his illustrious father and his union with Siva. It is clear that Deva Raya I died shortly before August 1422 A. D.

* NOTE Tirukanambi, is of great antiquity, formerly called, Trividambapura, having risen to importance out of the village Kudugallu, where the boundary stones of Dravida, Kerala and S. Karnata united. A Karnata prince named Lambakarna (long eared) erected a temple in the 6th Century. Probably he was Trinetra Kadamba or Mayura Varma. The Kadambas were subdued by the Hoysalas and who were in turn ousted by the Vijayanagar Princes. Harihara added much to the importance of this city. Remains of five lines of strong fortifications may be seen now. The Fort was finally destroyed by the Maharanas in 1717 A. D. The ruins of the old palace are still pointed out which was said to have been 6 or 7 storeys high. There are about 12 large ruined temples containing many inscriptions. In the neighbourhood may be seen a large number of unused tanks indicating the great extent of the former city.

An examination of the grants, made by Deva Raya I may now be made. A grant dated S. 1329, records that when Pratapa Deva Raya, son of Harihara was ruling, all the people of Mandanad and Hombuchunad made a grant to Kamoja, when Vittanna ruled in Araga. (1407 A. D.)

A prince named Sadasiva Raya is recorded in an inscription dated Sarwajitu S. 1329-1330 as ruling in peace and wisdom at Vijayanagar when Vittanna ruled at Araga under his orders, and a grant was made to God Dakshinamurti. This will be 1407 A. D. In the previous year Vyaya we have Deva Raya ruling in Vijayanagar.*

Sadasiva Raya is a new name, but there seems to be no great obstacle to get over this difficulty. He was probably a brother of Deva Raya, who might have been placed in charge of the current official duties at Vijayanagar when Deva Raya went on a Royal Tour.

There are several grants under date 1408 A.D. which record that Deva Raya was the perfect reflexion of Harihara II ruling in Vijayanagari in peace and wisdom. One of these is peculiarly interesting as showing that a Jain by name Gopanna, made gifts of gold, grain, lands and cows to Brahmins.

Another records the grant of a village to Venkanna-bhatta by Deva Raya, in 1408 A. D. for reciting puranas before god Ramanatha in Kudali * the southern Varanasi.

* NOTE.—Mr Rice puts Deva Raya in the translation for Sadasiva Raya in the original. It is difficult to understand the duties of an archeologist. If the facts and figures do not agree with the pet theories of the archeologist, he has no business to mislead the public by insertion of false names in his translations. He may add, if he differs from the originals, his own views in foot-notes. In his transliteration Mr. Rice has entirely omitted the name of the sovereign. The procedure seems strange and inexplicable.

See No. 82 Thirthahalli, E. C. Vol. VIII, pp. 196, 350, 611, Rice.

* NOTE.—Kudali is a sacred village at the confluence of the Tunga and Bhadra about 4 miles from Shimoga. A branch of Sringeri Mutt is located here as also another belonging to the Vaishnavas. The copper-

A copperplate grant S. 1332 (A. D. 1410-11) states that Deva Raya Maharaya made an agreement for the god Harihara and for the Brahmins living there as follows:—

The Brahmins of Harihara should build a dam to the river Haridra, at their own expenses, and bring channels through the God's lands. Of the lands so irrigated, two parts shall go to the God and one part to the Brahmins. The enjoyments to be held in perpetuity free of all imposts. One hundred and eleven shares were formed out of which 108 were given to Brahmins, one for offerings to god and two shares for feeding 5 Brahmins every day. The details of the working are splendidly given and the name of the Prime Minister is given as Nagappa to whom and Deva Raya Maharaya, the Minister Jagannatha made application, and after their sanction, gave orders to his son Minister Ballappa.*

An inscription (1418 A. D.) on the south wall of the Vella Raja Gopura, Tiruvanaimalai, records gift of jewels to the temple by Vira Vijaya Bhupati. (Deva Raya Maharaya). Another dated (1410 A. D.) states that a grant was made by Deva Raya of Vijayanagar. *

plate grant at Brahmaswara temple professes to have been granted by the Emperor Rukmangada ruling at Ayodhya. A Kadamba Prince Purandara has also made a grant as per an inscription preserved in the Stringeri Mutt dated in the 11th century A.D. Varanasi is another name for Benares or Kasi as it is enclosed by the two small streams Varuna and Asi. Hence sacred places in Southern India generally go under the name of Dakshina Kasi or Varanasi. Once in 12 years the sacred water of the Ganges is supposed to flow into the ponds, tanks and rivers close to these places of pilgrimage.

* From this we learn the great interest evinced by Deva Raya Maharaya in the irrigation works and the improvements of agriculture. He built a dam over the Thungabhadra and extended the fortifications round the city and increased the city revenue by 14 lacs of rupees a year. By this he converted the barren surroundings of the city into a set of smiling fruit and flower gardens : and thus enhanced the comforts and value of this royal city No. 28 Davangere. E. C. Vol. XI, Rice.

* Note:—S. I. Ant. Vol II, pp. 105 to 107, Sewell. It is unnecessary to call Vijaya as Devaraya, Devaraya's eldest son was Vijaya and

A copperplate dated Vikari Pushya Amavasya, January 1420 A. D. records that when Devaraya Maharaya was ruling in Hampi Hastinavati, belonging to Anegundi-Durga, protecting his territories in peace, seated on his throne, Mallappa Odayar, governing Guttidurga, under the orders of his monarch, granted Mugalgiri, to Tirumallagowda in the Yedavatnad belonging to the Banavasi Twelve Thousand ; with an order that the rents should be paid to the palace.*

An inscription dated Khara (1412 A. D.) records a grant by Mallanna Odayar, son of Devaraya Maharaya, of a village to the east of Bemmattana Kallupattana. Deva Raya seems to have had 5 sons. (1) Bhaskara, (2) Mallana, (3) Harihara, (4) Vijaya (who succeeded him on the throne) and another who was murdered by the disguised Cauzi. This inscription is important as showing the antiquity of Chittaldroog and its local traditions. Mallana Odayar ruled here and in honor of his mother Mallayavvi gave a grant of Kurichiganahalli calling it Mallapura, for the worship of God and building a tower over the southern entrance of the temple of Hidambanatha.

A Sasana dated Nandana (1413 A. D.) states that when Vira Deva Raya Maharaya ruled the Kingdom in peace and wisdom, the Lord of ships, Mangalore Naga Gowda's son Selti Gowda went to Swarga and his wife entered the fire. succeeded him to the throne after his father's death. As Yuvaraja, Vijaya had ample powers to give jewels to gods and lands to Brahmins. Mr. Sewell's guess is against facts.

* Note:—Guttidurga may refer to Chandiagutti or Guttu in Anantapur District. Mallappa is here called Mahamantri, and was the brother of Bachamia Odayar. Anegundidurga is introduced and Hastinavati Vijayanagar is called a Maharajadhanii or imperial capital.

† See No. 14, Chittaldroog Rice, E. C.

‡ Nolambapattana, Chandravalli and Penjaru, were royal cities in this district and Bemmattana Kallu, became the capital of the later Hoysalas in the 13th century. From the middle of the 14th century, it passed into the Vijayanagar family and continued to be the chief city of

Two Sasanas dated 1416 refer to Vira Pratapa Deva Maharaya as ruling in peace and wisdom, An inscription dated Manmatha (A. D. 1415) states that when Pratapa Deva Raya ruled in Vijayanagar and Chandra Sekhara Bharati Odeyar in Sringeri, the Brahmins and Bommaadeva Heggada of Harandor, granted lands at the moon's eclipse.

Another inscription dated Hevalambi(August 1417 A.D.) declares the sale of certain lands when Vittanna Odeyar was ruling in Araga, under orders of Vira Pratapa Deva-Raya, who was ruling in Vidyanagari, protecting the different religious systems in peace and wisdom. Another of the same year (September) records that when Vira-Pratapa Devaraya ruled the Kingdom in peace, Ramagowda died and his wife Bomma Gowndi, performed Sati and took Swarga by force. An inscription dated 1419 A. D. states that when Vira Deva Raya was ruling

that province. In the 15th century, a number of subordinate Pollegars, seem to have held tracts of country on feudal tenure. Local traditions point out that Bhima, the 2nd of the Pandu Princes killed Hidambasura here. Chitaldroog is surrounded by strong lines of fortifications on a dense cluster of rocky hills, considered formidable in those days. A small temple on a huge boulder on one of the hills is said to contain the tooth of Hidamba. The shrine is approached by a narrow flight of steps and contains two towers one of them probably is referred to here. When I visited the temple, (1907 A. D.) the priest showed me a big sized tooth and swore it as Hidamba's. After Hidamba's death, his sister Hidambi, married Bhima and Ghatotkacha, one of the greatest of the Mahabharata Heroes, was their son. He was specially skilled in Mayayuddha and was killed by the famous warrior, Karna in a night battle after doing incredible deeds of valour. See No. 467. Sorab Vol. VIII. Part 2 P. 10 Rice.

|| A most interesting point is brought to light by this Sasan, the possession of a powerful navy by the Vijayanagar Princes in Mangalore under a Commander called Nagagowda. The empire of Vijayanagar had already extended to the Western, Southern and Eastern Oceans and 30 years later we find Abdur Razzak, stating that the Rayas of Bijanagar had 300 ports in their dominions. The coasts could not be held and commerce protected unless the Emperors of Vijayanagar commanded a powerful navy.

the Kingdom of the world, the ruler of Talakad had made a grant of paddy lands.

A sasana dated November 1420 A. D. refers to Deva Raya Maharaya as ruling a peaceful Kingdom. Another dated Shubakritu Sravana Pournima (August A. D. 1422) records that Harihara Raya Odeyar, son of Vira Pratapa Deva Raya Maharaya, made a grant of the village Maliyur.

An inscription dated Shubakritu Aswija (October 1422 A. D.) records that when Vijaya Raya Maharaya, son of Vira Pratapa Deva Raya was ruling in Hastinavati in peace and wisdom, Ballideva, gave up the pleasures of this life as they are transient.

We now come to the most important inscription, which announces the gifts, for the spiritual benefit of Deva Raya, by his son Harihara Raya dated Sravana Pournima, Shobakritu (August 1422 A. D.).

Note—Talakad is a city of remote antiquity. In Sanscrit it was called Dalavapura. Sree Rama, seems to have halted here for some time on his expedition to Lanka. The Ganga line of Kings, had their capital here for 9 centuries. The Cholas captured Talakad in the 11th century and called it Rajarajapura. A century later the famous Vishnuvardhana Hoysala captured it and drove the Cholas out. It is finely situated on the Cauveri and the town of Mallingi lay on the opposite side. It remained in the hands of the Hoysalas till the middle of the 14th century and then passed into the hands of a feudatory prince under the Vijayanagar rulers. The old city lies buried under the sand for over a mile. There is an anicut and a canal called Madhava Mantri anicut, built by that famous minister towards the latter part of the 11th century. Chundrasekara Bharati Odeyar must have been a Prince of Vijayanagar as none of the Sringari Gurus is called an Odeyar.

Note—There is slight difference between Shubhakritu and Shubakritu in the Sasanas. The Saka year is correctly given in both but the cyclic years differ. Shu and Sho, have not much difference in Kannada and as months, days, etc. are the same, there is no doubt whatever that both of them were issued by Harihara for the spiritual benefit of his father Deva Raya Sasana No. 93, Shubhakritu, dated October of the same year, mentions Vijaya Raya son of Vira Pratapa Raya as ruling in Hastinavati.

Deva Raya died in the latter part of July 1422 A. D. and that after the funeral rites, grants were made for his spiritual benefit by his son Harihara Raya. The next month is Bhadrapada, the latter part of which goes under the name of Pitru Paksha (fortnight devoted to the *mawes* of the dead), and no good deeds could be done at that time. Then commences Aswija (October) which is good and we find Vijaya Raya ruling in Hastinavati Anagondi. Documents are clear and the facts, of the death and length of the reign of Deva Raya, may now be considered to be finally settled.

An inscription (Shobha kritu), dated April 1422 A. D., states that when Vira Pratapa Devaraya was ruling in Vidyana jari, Sirigiri Natha was protecting Araga under his orders Gungadhara Puri Sripada purchased lands.*

Bhaskara, son of Devaraya Maha Raya ruled in some province in the South-West and under his orders Vittanna Odeyar in order to obtain the four desires of human existence granted five villages in Santaliginad. Vittana is here stated as protecting Araga, Gutti, Barakur, Mangalore and the Karnataka Kingdom as far as the Western Ocean.

This must have formed a large territory by itself, and Prince Bhaskara was probably the Viceroy, while the actual administration was carried out by Vittana under the Prince's orders.†

* It is regrettable to note that Sewell and other archaeologists did not take any interest in sifting through the voluminous records. The Saku date does not correspond with Shubhakritu. This must be obviously S. 1344 as the year is clearly named.

† See, No 88 Koppa, Rice.

Dharma, Artha, Kama and Moksha are the four desires of human existence.

Dharma—securing of invisible happiness by shastric ways

Artha—acquisition of wealth by lawful means.

Kama—satisfaction of reasonable desires.

Moksha—final emancipation from all gross matter and incorporation with Para Brahma.

The *Sasaya* further shows the cultivation of large gardens,

Vijaya Raya does not seem to have been present when his father died as he ruled in Mulvagal. A few quotations from Ferista ought to be made here before closing this chapter. The purport of his long narrative is given below.

"A farmer's daughter in Mudkal called Pernal was of exquisite beauty and learning. She was trained by an old Brahmin and became the attraction of all. The Brahmin thought she would make a splendid spouse for Deva Rava, and went to Bijnagar, and spoke to Deva Raya in admirable praise of her. The Emperor entreated the Brahmin to arrange for the marriage and sent him back with costly presents. The parents were overjoyed but the maiden refused the offered present. She cleverly observed that one who entered the harem at Bijnagar must be entirely separated from her parents and she did not like to do this. The Brahmin returned to Bijnagar with the presents and this refusal inflamed the Prince with greater passion and he resolved to satisfy his desire by force. He marched at the head of a large force, and arrived at Tummedra, whence he took 5,000 select horse and marched on Mudkal and surrounded it. The inhabitants and the parents of the girl, as well as herself, left the place on the approach of the Bijnagar forces. The troops disappointed ravaged the country round. They were attacked by superior forces of the Sultan and 2,000 were slain. This led to war. In the winter of 1406 A. D. the Sultan of Gulburga moved in great force and arrived near Bijnagar in which Deval Ray had shut himself up. Some streets were captured which however he could not hold, being repulsed by the sturdy Karnatics. Deval Ray encouraged by this success now ventured to encamp his army under the protection of the city walls and molested the royal camp. The Mussalman horse could not be brought near the lines as there were pointed rocks, and this caused great uneasiness*.

* I have seen the surroundings of Anagondi and Bijnagar. Where the fort walls run on level grounds the Raya, to prevent the use of enemy's

Ferozshah was wounded in the hand. The enemy were at last driven out by the valour and activity of Ahmed Khan and Khan Kanan, and the Sultan had to move to a convenient place further from the city where he halted four months till he recovered from his wound. The troops harassed the surrounding country and attacked Bunkipore. Mr. Sewell observes "that this convenient plain was probably in the open and rich valley near Hospet south of the city, for the Sultan could not have ravaged the country to the south unless he had been master of the whole of this valley for many miles." Bunkipore was captured and 60,000 Hindu prisoners were brought, on which the Sultan left Khan Kanan to hold Bijnagar, while he himself attempted to reduce Adoni, the strongest fortress in possession of the enemy. Deva Raya was compelled to sue for peace. He agreed to give his daughter to the Sultan in marriage, indemnify him with immense treasure and to cede for ever the fort of Bunkipore. Though the Rays of Karnatic had never yet married their daughters but to persons of their own caste, and giving them to Mahomedans was disgraceful, yet Deval Ray out of necessity complied. The preparations for nuptials were celebrated on a magnificent scale by both the parties. The communication was open for forty days, between the camp of the Sultan and Bijnagar and both sides of the road were lined with booths, shops, etc. Khan Kanan and Mir Fazulullah went to the city with the customary presents. They brought the bride after seven days with rich dowries from the Ray to the Sultan's camp. Deval Ray wanted to see the Sultan and Ferozshah with gallantry visited his father-in-law with his bride.

From the gate of the city to the palace, a distance of 6 miles, the road was spread with cloth of gold, cavalry, had strong pointed stones placed in the ground over a considerable extent. These stones are called *Gurram Date Raya* or the stones to prevent the movements of horses.

velvet, satin and other costly stuffs. The two Princes rode on horseback between ranks of beautiful girls and boys who waved plates of gold and silver flowers over their heads as they advanced. On arrival at the palace gate the Princes dismounted, and got into rich palanquin set with precious gems. The Sultan was magnificently entertained for 3 days and took leave of the Ray who followed him for four miles and returned to the city. Ferozshah was enraged at the Ray for not going with him to the camp, and declared that he would have one day his revenge for this insult. When informed of these remarks of Ferozshah, Deval Ray passed some insolent remarks, so that their hatred was not calmed in spite of the marriage.

The Sultan returned to his capital, and sending for the lovely Pertil (the famous Mudkal beauty) gave her in marriage to his eldest son Hasan Khan. The latter seems to have been a weak and dissipated prince. Though he was heir to the throne he was ousted by Khan Kanan, brother of the Sultan. He lived privately at Firozabad entirely devoted to indolence and pleasure. Ahamed Shah I his uncle, treated him kindly and gave him a Jagir. The lazy youth was quite satisfied with the permission he had to go out and hunt within 8 miles whenever he wanted. He was blinded afterwards and kept in his palace till he died.

* Sewell has gone into hopeless contradictions about the characters who played their parts in the political stage of Vijayanagar.

The confusion in the head of Mr. Rice is equally prominent. On p.62 of his F. Empire, Mr. Sewell says "that Devaraya I lived till at least 1412 A. D., and was succeeded by his son Vira Vijaya whom Nuniz calls Visaya ; and who, he says, reigned six years. The last extant inscription of Devaraya I is dated 1412 to 1413 A. D. The first of his successor Vijaya 1413 to 1414 A.D. Vijaya's last inscription is one of 1416 to 1417 A. D. and the first yet known of his successor his eldest son Devaraya II is dated Monday, June 26 (1424 to 1425 A. D.). In 1417 A. D. Ferozshah commenced a war against Telangana and besieged Pangal 70 miles N. E. of Adoni for two years but failed to take it. Devaraya collected his army, marched against the Sultan in 1419 A. D. ; and since this was

Here Sewell introduces between 1399 and 1419 A. D. Harihara II, Bukka II, Devaraya I, Vijaya and Devaraya II. But from indisputable documentary evidence the death of Harihara II has been fixed in 1404 A. D. and that of Bukka II or Devaraya I (both being identical) in July 1422 A. D. Mr. Rice admits "some confusion" in the history here but makes no attempt to harmonise the fact, in the light thrown by his own inscriptions. He gives Devaraya I (Bukka II) a rule from 1406 A. D. to 1415 A. D. and then brings in his son Vijaya who is given a reign of one year from 1416 to 1417 A. D. Devaraya II is brought in afterwards. *

Inscriptions in the name and during the reign of Devaraya I are found up to 1422 A. D. and in July of that year we have his death clearly announced by his son Vira Harihara Raya. It would be silly to neglect authentic facts in the compilation of a valuable history. *

not consonant with the character of Vijaya, we must suppose that it took place as soon as Devaraya II was crowned." Mr. Sewell gets into further confusion about the death of Devaraya II.

Sravana Belugola inscription says that Devaraya II died in Akshaya S. 1868 (1446 A. D.). I have seen the original and it is clear. The genealogies given in all the inscriptions are clear and distinct. See. P. 79, F.E. Sewell.

See P. 262, My bigger History

* M. G. Vol. I. pp. 346, 47, Rice.
see Nos. 159 Chamarajnagar.

24 Gundlapet.

93 Shikarpur.

It is strange that Mr. Rice who pretended to collect his materials from his inscriptions, should have fallen into such inaccuracies. He seems to have published them but does not seem to have read them carefully as a historian ought to have done.

* The following inscriptions and copperplate grants may be perused with advantage. They prove conclusively that Devaraya I ruled up to July 1422 A. D.

See No. 217 Thirthahalli dated 1415 A. D

..	29	Stringeri	1416	do
..	35	Sigar	1419	do
..	74	"	1429	do

Vijaya I ruled for a short time and therefore very few inscriptions are found in his name.

Nuniz is hopelessly wrong in his account of Visaya. No references are found during his short rule about wars. As Devaraya I ruled upto 1422 A. D., the remarks of Sewell about the faint heartedness of Vijaya are quite uncalled for and must be rejected as based on Mr. Sewell's imagination. As regards the inscription dated Vilambi S. 1340 (1418 A.D.) quoted by Sewell it is easy to see that Devaraya I or his son Vijaya may have made a gift of jewels to the God at Tiruvananamalai. Vijaya was in Mulbagal, and ruled all the N. Eastern Provinces of the empire as Yuva Raja. This is partly confirmed by his absence at the time of the death of his royal father.*

A few remarks are here absolutely necessary to dispel the confusions and contradictions, which are found in Ferista's account of Devaraya's daughter's marriage with Ferozshah. The Mahomedan historian's graphic account of this marriage is too long a pill to be easily swallowed by unbiased readers of Vijayanagar annals. While his

Sec No.	188	Tirthahalli	dated	1420 A. D.
"	288	Shikarpur	1420	do
"	141	Tirthahalli	1421	do
"	98	Shikarpur	1422	do
"	144	Chamarajnagar	August	1422 do
"	159	do		1422 do

An interesting fact striking the reader of these *sasanas* is the grant of lands mostly in Nagarkhand in which lies Sringeri the residence of Kula Guru Vidyaranya and his successors on the pontifical throne. Rice publishes two inscriptions of Vijaya, dated 1422 and 1423 A.D. in which it is clearly stated that Vijaya is the son of Devaraya Maharaya and still Mr. Rice gives Vijaya a reign of one year from 1416 to 1417 A.D. Mr. Sewell ascribes a grant dated 1418 A. D. to Vijaya Bhupathi but despatches him to the other world in 1417 A. D. These gentlemen would do well to read the inscriptions carefully, and reconcile their statements in their light. Mulbagal appears to have been from very early times the seat of Provincial Governors or Viceroys. It first formed Mahavalli or Bana's territory. In the 10th century the Pallavas included it in their government. Later on it passed into the control of Vijayanagar,

literary flourishes may be admired, his facts cannot be accepted as true. The fact of a powerful Hindu Emperor marrying his daughter, against all rules of caste, to an old Mahomedan Prince, his bitterest enemy, looks on its face highly improbable. A careful reader of the progress of this Hindu empire from 1336 to 1406 A. D. the period when this drama was alleged to have been enacted, cannot fail to perceive that in spite of the incessant struggles on the part of the Bahamini Sultans to annihilate their Hindu neighbours, the Princes of Bijanagar had always succeeded not only in keeping the Sultans under proper check but also in extending their empire on all sides and getting advantage from their Mahomedan enemies. Ferista admits that as early as 1336 A. D. the Rays of Bijnagar were infinitely the superiors of the Bahamini Sultans. All Southern India, and the East Coast up to Bengal had to acknowledge the supremacy of Vijayanagar. They had a navy at Mangalore, Goa and other seaports. Ambassadors from Ceylon, Tennesserim, Persia and other kingdoms brought rich presents to the Rayas. The conquests and resources of a century of its existence must have added greatly to the might of this empire. All historians are perfectly agreed in saying that the Princes of Vijayanagar were immensely superior to any other sovereigns in India in power, wealth and extent of territories. The northern parts of Vijayanagar empire were constantly subjected to the Mahomedan incursions but no instances are quoted where the power of these Princes was crushed in pitched battles, or where they were compelled to accept any humiliating terms.

The forces of Vijayanagar always obtained some advantage in their struggles with those of the Bahamini, and the reader finds that for nearly three centuries this kingdom grew in power, resources and extent. The Princes made extensive grants for charitable purposes. None of the Princes who ruled up to this period, was ever found

cowardly, and the military skill of Vijayanagar generals was recognised and admitted by the Turuka commanders. The war of 1366 A. D. waged so furiously by Mahomed Shah ended without loss to Vijayanagar. The defeats so graphically pictured by Ferista, eventually ended in the advantage of the Hindus against their bitterest enemies the Mussalmans. Mujahd reaped no advantage from his wars and was actually driven out by the Karnatics.

The war waged by Vijayanagar and Bahamini in 1399 A. D. resulted in nothing worth mentioning as the boundaries of the two kingdoms were to be the same as before and each party agreed to observe perfect neutrality towards the other. At the time of Devaraya I the power of Vijayanagar was thoroughly consolidated. They possessed a powerful navy at Mangalore and other important ports. Their army and cavalry were immensely increased and by wise rule and suitable encouragement to irrigation, the revenues had swelled into huge amounts. At this time, it would be absurd to think that the Bahamini had any chance of success against Bijnagar, and the fact of Feroz Shah's wound and his going away to besiege Adoni, show also the impotent rage which he was compelled to swallow in his sheer incapacity to make any impression upon the enemy's lines of fortifications. Under these circumstances it is extremely improbable that a powerful Emperor of the Lunar race, every way superior to the enemy, could have persuaded himself to commit such an act of degradation as to marry his daughter to a Mahomedan for such an act would have brought disgrace to his caste as a Kshatriya, to his position as a powerful emperor, to his reputation as protecting the Varnasrama Dharmas and to the nobility of his ancient Royal family. Hindu Princes of pure Kshatriya descent have been known to kill their ladies and children and then to sell their lives as dearly as possible in the field of battle, rather than allow them to fall into the hands of

their enemies. The Raja of Anagondi, did this in his war with Mohamed Toghlak. Ferista's narrative does not in the least disclose political conditions of that extreme necessity which alone could have driven a powerful monarch like Devaraya, with unlimited resources at his command, to prostitute his own daughter to the fading lust of an old Mahomedan Sultan. It is difficult to imagine that Devaraya could have committed this humiliating act of his own free will and choice unless compelled by irresistible brutal force. This view is strongly supported by the silence of Paes, Nuniz and Abdur Razzack, in not making any references to this remarkable marriage. Ferista's statement that Frozshah occupied the streets and was driven out by the Karnatics speaks a plain truth that even if he had gained access to the outer lines of defences he was compelled to beat a hasty retreat. His cavalry and infantry proved useless before the fire of Vijayanagar batteries, and he was compelled to move to a greater distance for safety.

Taking Bunkipore with 60,000 helpless women and children could never be considered as such a crushing defeat as to justify Devaraya to prostitute his daughter to his inveterate enemy. Ferista remarks that Ferozshah felt deeply insulted when the Raya did not escort him to his camp and vowed vengeance. The Raya was alleged to have passed very insulting remarks against Ferozshah.

Ferista admits the incapacity of Frozshah when he commenced the war of aggression against the Hindus. Though he besieged Pangul for 2 years he failed miserably in its capture. Ferista observes that Adoni was the strongest fortress in the Hindu empire, and Pangul was an insignificant fort 70 miles from it. Adoni was not captured and the Sultan moved away. Where then were the extreme political conditions which could have driven an Emperor of Devaraya's power to sue for peace of the most degrading kind. To gain admission to the street there must have been bloody war. Ferista is silent. Ferozshah who failed to take an insignificant place like Pangul though he besieged it with all his army in person for 2 years could not have gained access to the streets of Bijnagar by simple Mahomedan Magic.

Ferozshah had the greatest advantage according to Ferista and if the Raya was so helpless as to be compelled to prostitute his daughter, it is really surprising to see why Bijnagar was not occupied at once, the revenge taken upon Devaraya and the country annexed to the Bahansini kingdom. If ever the city was carelessly defended, it was so during the forty days of marriage preparations, and also after the insult offered by Devaraya, Ferozshah had after the marriage splendid opportunities to teach a good lesson to the haughty Raya. In fact, Ferista is hopelessly illogical and to have inserted a story which, according to his ideas, added a fresh laurel to the cap of the "Merry Monarch of the Deccan." It was in the power of Ferozshah not only to have carried away one daughter of Devaraya but as many handsome ladies from his harem as he wanted. Ferozshah certainly showed no scruples with regard to the injunctions of his Prophet Mahomed about the number of women he kept in his custody under the vain pretext of satisfying his brutal lust and he honored his religion more in its breach than in its observance. The whole incident seems to have been inserted by Ferista by way of a set off, as it were, for the deliberate invasion and ravaging of his territories by Devaraya I. *

Ferista is most inconsistent in his narration. He makes Pertal say to her Brahmin Guru—"that whoever entered the harem of Bijnagar was altogether separated from her relations and friends; and though they might sell her for worldly riches she would not consent to be separated from her parents." These are expressions which would bring honor even to angels. But the same Ferista has nothing to put into her mouth when she had to enter the harem of a dissipated Mahomedan Prince who had no position in life; and who lived a prisoner all through his life. The processes by which these psychological phenomena were produced in her mind and the undignified fall to which she was made to consent in marrying a dissipated Mahomedan, the greatest foe of her nation and religion are matters which Ferista leave to his readers to infer. She who had the nobility and the feminine grace to reject with contempt the proposals of her guru, her parents, the costly presents and the hand of the greatest Hindu emperor, to marry whom would have been considered as the highest honor to her family without any loss of caste or social position is made by Ferista, to marry without the slightest objection

Feroze Shah in his great distress implored the help of the Sultan of Guzerat but could get none. Afterwards the enemy were driven out of his dominions by his brother Khanan. These misfortunes preyed heavily on Feroz Shah and in his old age he fell into a lingering disease. Feroze Shah died on the 24th September 1422 A. D. Khanan, his brother assumed the title of Ahamed Shah I. and confined Hasan, son of Feroze Shah.*

Ahamed Shah I. strengthened his army, tried to win the affection of his people and made preparations to attack the Hindus. Deva Raya's generals collected their troops and marched to the Thungabhadra. The Sultan arrived on the north bank and "leagured." He halted here for 45 days and surrounded the camp with carriages to prevent the enemy's night attacks. This will probably be in the beginning of 1423 A. D., says Mr. Sewell. Ferista introduces his readers to a dramatic episode. The Sultan's cavalry crossed the river and ravaged the Raya's dominions. The Sultan determined on a frontal attack, while the troops of Warangal deserted the Raya.

or compunction a weakminded Mahomedan Prince, thereby forfeiting all claims to her excellent education, worldly advancement, social honors, religious merit and personal happiness. Ferista's reasoning stands self-condemned and the whole anecdote smacks of pure and simple invention.

The battle and other incidents related by Ferista as occurring in 1419 A. D. must refer to Devaraya I. Feroze Shah was throughout unsuccessful in his attacks on Warangal in 1419 A. D. and the troops of Vijayanagar marched against him. The Sultan gave battle forthwith and Meer Fazulullah who commanded the troops of Islam,—observes Ferista, charged the Hindus with great vigour and died. The fortunes of the day suddenly changed and the Sultan escaped with the greatest difficulty. The Hindus made a general massacre of the Mahomedans and erected a platform with the heads of the enemy. They pursued the Sultan, ravaged his country, burned many mosques and showed that they discharged the treasured malice of many ages.

*Scott's Ferista, v. 95. Feroze Shah was very old when he died and therefore could not have been a youth in 1406 to think of love affairs and marriage celebrations.

Alam Khan, Lodi Khan and Delavoy Khan crossed the river and reached the enemy's camp. The Raya was sleeping, attended by a few persons in a garden close to which was a large plantation of sugarcane. A body of Mussalmans entered the garden for plunder and Devalray being alarmed, fled almost naked into the sugarcane plantation. The Mussalman soldiers took him to be a common person, and loading him with a bundle of canes obliged him to run before them. Devalray rejoiced at his being undiscovered, held his peace and carried the bundle. They had not proceeded long, when the alarm of the Sultan crossing the river spread over the camp. The Hindus dispersed in confusion and Deval Ray's captors hoping for more valuable plunder forgot the sugarcane bundle and left Deval Ray to shift for himself. He ran with his troops till about noon, when some of his nobles recognised him.

Ahamed Shah ravaged the country and put the people to death. Whenever the number killed exceeded 20,000, he halted and made a festival for three days on this bloody affair.

A body of 5,000 Hindus vowed to kill the Sultan as the grand author of their country's sufferings. Spies watched him, and found him in a hut. The banded infidels, informed of his separation from the main army, arrived in sight. The Sultan got alarmed, and galloped on to a small mud enclosure. The infidels attempted to enter and a sharp fight ensued. The Sultan was reduced to the extremity of distress. Abdul Kadir arrived with a body of troops, and when the infidels were about to enter a breach they had made, they were suddenly attacked in the rear. The Sultan joined his forces and attacked the enemy. There was a desperate struggle. Both sides lost heavily. It deserves place among the records of time as a remarkable coincidence that two sovereigns at the head of their respective armies, should fall into such danger for want of numbers and both escape uninjured.

Ahmed marched to Bijapur and kept it closely blocked. Deval Ray sent ambassadors to treat for peace and the Sultan consented.*

The character of Devaraya has to be inferred from the important events during his rule of 18 years. Like his father Harihara II. he was brave, liberal, popular, careful and encouraged largely irrigational works. The dam he built across the Thunghabhadra was a work of great utility then as it is even to-day. He brought canals into the city and encouraged irrigation works all over his territories. Extensive plantations of areca, cocoanut and sugar-cane are frequently mentioned in sasanas and his rule seems to have been marked by wisdom, statesmanship and affection to the people.

He had plenty of wars with the Mahomedans, and inflicted severe defeats on Feroze Shah that, even Ferista admits, had broken the Sultan's heart and precipitated him into his grave. It is enough to note that the Persian Ambassador Abdur Razaak was an eye witness, while Ferista wrote his history from information which he collected from his ill-informed Mahomedan friends two centuries later. By this time the whole of S. India was brought under the sway of Vijayanagar. This motley collection of various castes and creeds seem to have been treated with singular affection and toleration by the Princes of Vijayanagar. Progress in arts and sciences marked the growth of this empire and we see that Sanskrit, Telugu, Kanarese and Tamil literature received great encouragement. The government appears

* Devaraya I. died in July 1422 A. D. and Feroze Shah died in September of the same year. The campaign of Ahmed Shah, therefore, in the commencement of his reign must have been against Vijaya whose inscription is dated October 1422 A. D. The earliest inscription of Devaraya II. is dated Krodhi 8, 1345 (1424 A. D.) The month is defaced but it must be early in that year. The war was continued during the reigns of Vijaya and Devaraya II. Ferista's mention of Deval Ray, may lead us to say that Devaraya II. completed the war. Vijaya seems to have died before April 1423 A. D. If so, he ruled for about 9 months.

to have been popular and the people were contented and loyal. Vijaya appears to have had two sons, Devaraya II, and Paivathi Raya who died in 1425 A. D., and a daughter Hariima who was married to Salva Tippuraja.

CHAPTER XIV.

RULERS OF VIJAYANAGAR.

DEVARAYA II.

In the case of Vijayanagar princes the reigns of two kings father and son often overlapped each other. Devaraya II followed Devaraya I, his grandfather, after a few months of his death, as his father Vijaya ruled only for a short time. Mr. Sewell gives an inscription dated 20th June 1424 A. D. as the earliest relating to Devaraya II. It contains the genealogy of the kings as Bukka I, Harihara II, Devayara I, Vijaya, and Devaraya II. The close of the Mohamedan campaign may be guessed from Ferishta's narrative, Ferishta says "when the Sultan returned to Gulburga, there was a great famine in the Deccan, so also in the next year. These years extended from 15th December 1422 to 23rd November 1424 A. D. Ferista further says in the year 828 A. H. the Sultan marched against Warrangal and was thoroughly successful.

The Hindu Kingdom of Warrangal was completely destroyed in 1424 A. D.

Ahmad Shah I was succeeded by his son Alla-ud-deen II on 27th February 1435 A. D. Ferista is silent about Vijayanagar affairs till this year when a fresh war broke out

Note.—The copperplate grant is dated Krodisi S. 1316 and records the grant of a village to Warangnatha (Siva) in South Cinnara. Another inscription dated the same year *i. e.*, (1424 A. D.) is found in a *hasthi* at the Ananta temple of Karakula.

Note.—Briggs calculates that A. H 828 corresponds with 1424 A. D and begins in November of that year. The campaign against Warrangal was of short duration.

between the neighbouring States. We have to look into inscriptions for events during these eleven years of Ferista's silence. Vijaya was also called Bukkaraya in an inscription dated May 1423. Devaraya II was also called Immadi Dev - raya and Gajabentay Devaraya. The latter means he was an expert in elephant hunting. A Sasana (Krodhi Kartika S1346) dated November 1424 A. D. records that during the reign of Virapratap Devaraya, son of Virapratap Bukkaraya (Vijaya) Bullaraja enquired as to who would undertake the restoration of Haridra dam and finding Chamanripala, Commander-in-Chief of Devaraya's forces, a devotee of the linga, of agreeable qualities, of handsome features, fierce in war, well skilled in the four modes of policy, Sama, Dana, Danda, and Bheda, protector of righteousness and expert in music, Ballapa, addressed him thus, "Haridra dam was constructed by me under the orders of Davaraya I and it has breached. There is loss to God Harihara and distress to holy Brahmins. You are acquainted with the shastras which speak about the unlimited reward of such a work of merit." Your excellency must restore that Dharma. Chamanripala gave the necessary funds for the restoration of the work.

An inscription dated February 1425 records purchases by A. Vittanna during the peaceful reign of Devaraya II on a Jain Basti in Vijayanagar. A Sasana (1426 A. D.) states that Devaraya made a grant. In the temple of Kamakshi in Conjeeveram a private grant (1427 A.D.) refers to the reign of Vira Deva Maharaya of Vijayanagar. A set of copperplate grants (1427 A. D.) evidence the gift of Devarajapuram by Devaraya Maharaya to his house priest Narasimha Chari. The genealogy is short but perfectly correct.

Note.—Sama-winning over enemies by persuasion, arguments, etc. —
 Dana-offering money, presents, advantages, etc.
 Danda-military argument of arms, etc.
 Bheda-means used to create differences among the enemies causing desertions and betrayals.

It names Chandra, Yadu, Harihara, Pratap Deva, Vijaya and Devaraya.

Another Copperplate records a gift in Kilaka by Devaraya of the village of Abhuri to Brahmins of different gotras and sutras at the request of a chief named Mailara. The genealogy is to the point. Harihara, Devaraya, Vijaya Bukka, and Devaraya the grantor. The genealogies are cleverly inserted and perfectly correct. Harihara II was succeeded by his son Devaraya I. He was succeeded by his son Vijaya Bukka and Devaraya II succeeded Vijaya, his father. The researches of the scholars have confirmed the truth of this genealogy.

A copperplate grant dated Sadharana declares the grant of lands to a temple by Devaraja under the orders of Devaraya of Vijayanagar.

A Sasana dated Plavanga (1428 A. D.) records that when Virapratapa Harihara Maharaya seized Kareyapatna in the west of Jambu Dwipa, Kamayee and her children

Note.—Nundi Nagari Characters are used here and it was found buried in Ayal, a village in the Wallajah Taluk. See No. 188, Vol. II and Vol. I, page 161 S.I.A. Sewell,

See No. 87, Vol. II, page 13, S.I.A. Sewell.

Mr. Sewell remarks that "Genealogy of the king given here differs from that of the grants previously noted in some respects." He is wisely silent about what the differences are. I have examined them carefully and find no difference.

Gotra is the genus from which Brahmins claim their descent. Families of the same Gotra cannot intermarry. Gotras are taken after the names of the famous Maharsis.

Sutras are the principles of conduct in the performance of rituals arranged by the great Rishis. Thus Brahmins belong to Vashista, Bharadwaja, Angirasa, Salankayana, Atrayasa, etc., gotras. The most famous sutrakaras are Bodhayana, Aswalayana, Apasthambha, etc. The inscription is dated 1129 A. D. and is in the Collector's office at Nellore.

The Sadharma grant is taken from the Collector's office, South Canara and is now in the Madras Museum. It bears the date 1480. Devaraja probably was a local chief or governor who acted under the orders of emperor Devaraya.

found shelter under Kundikeri Byia Naik. Her son jaakka Deva built a tank in 1417 A.D. to the south of the river called Meddarihalli to the south of Hiryur.

We hear again of this Harihara in Rakshasa, (1435 A.D.) where he is invested with all the imperial titles and as ruling in Vidyanagari in peace and wisdom. Under his orders Singaya Naik of Bidari made a grant. Another *sasana* dated Dundubhi S 1365 (1443 A. D.) declares that Vika Bukkaraya's son Harihara Raya was ruling in Vijayanagar in peace and wisdom. It seems plain that Harihara Raya, brother of Vijaya and uncle of Devaraya II, ruled Vidyanagri now and then and made grants. Probably Devaraya II was young at the time of his accession and was ably supported by the experience of his uncle Harihara, who was not only a man of great military genius but was also possessed of considerable ability in the work of civil administration.

A *sasana* (1430 A D.) records complete genealogy of the Kings and Queens of Vijayanagar. Bukka I married Tarambika. Their son was Harihara II. His son was Pratap Devaraya I to whom, by Hemambika, was born Vijaya. His queen Narayanambika gave to him a son Devaraya II. It declares that the princes of Anga, Vanga, Kalinga, etc., waited upon Devaraya and that there were ten thousand Turuka horsemen in his service. Another inscription dated 1431 A. D. records that Devaraya II.

Note.—Harihara refers probably to Vira Haribara Mahamandaleswara son of Devaraya I, hence uncle of Devaraya II.

Harihara seems to have taken a prominent part during the reigns of his father, Devaraya I, his brother Vijaya, and his nephew Devaraya II. He had rare capacity for managing the state affairs along with the princess seated on the throne. This proves a spirit of union and loyalty among the Vijayanagar princes.

Karayyapatna is called a royal city. It is difficult to identify it. Probably it was the capital of a powerful line of kings on the Western Coast. Harihara reduced the kingdom and annexed it to Vijayanagar
See No. 31 Shimoga, No, 14 Hiryur. E.C. Rice,

was the son of Vijya and that he had an elder sister called Harima married to Saluva Tipparaja of the Lunar race.

An inscription dated 1431 A. D. records that Devaraya was protecting the empire of Vijayanagar in peace and wisdom and that the ruler of Araga granted lands for Dharma chatram. A sasana dated 1432 A. D. states that when Devaraya II ruled in Hampi Hastinavati as champion over three kings, Amar Naika's sons were ruling in Vijaya Somnathapura. Chikkabhimanna caused Samprokshana to be made to god Sadashiva. Another inscription dated Ananda (1434 A. D.) records that Devaraya Maharaja granted a village to God Rama at Manchenhalli

A sasana dated 1442 A. D. records that in the reign of Immadi Devaraya, Baicharsa and Surappa Naika blocked up the town of Kuppugiri and died in its siege.

An inscription (Durmathi) dated 1441 A. D. records that when Immadi Devaraya was ruling in Vijayanagari, Maha Prabhu Baichappa Gowda, supplier of gunpowder to Nandigirinad Raja, slew some powerful enemies and died

Note.—Tipparaja is called Raya Bhonhatta Malla probably a title of political distinction. Mr. Rice translates this under his Pandit's advice as chief of the Royal spies. The words do not carry such signification. Being brother-in-law of the ruling emperor and possessing natural abilities, probably he headed a political department of great significance. The intelligence department and the Royal spies contain men of extraordinary abilities and political shrewdness. See No. 15 Seringapatam, 29. Chitaldroog, 52. Hiryur 31. Shimoga E. C. Rice. The cycle year offers some confusion to the beginners but can be easily reconciled.

See No. 241 Chennarayapatna, No. 1 Tirthahalli. E. C. Rice.

Samprokshana is a ceremony by which images in temples are set up after purification. No. 32 Molakalmuru.

Nandagiri is the famous Nandidroog hill fort captured by Lord Cornwallis on his march to Seringapatam. From early times the Ganga Princes possessed the title of Nandagiri lords (Hill of pleasure) the Cholas in the 11th century changed the name into Nandigiri meaning the hill of Nandi, the sacred bull of Siva. The temple of Nandishwara at the foot of this precipitous hill has been in existence during the times of Pallava, Chola and Hoysala dynasties. This is a fortified hill to the

An inscription dated Krodhana (1445 A. D.) contains the genealogy of Devaraya II. It gives details of Deva-rayas conquests and power over the neighbouring princes. When Devaraya II. was engaged in battle, the faces of the Turukas shivelled up. King of Konkan Sancha, was terrified. The Andhras fled to the neighbouring hills, the Gurjaras were paralysed, the Kanoujas lost courage and Kalungas were broken; the rulers of Anga, Vanga, Kanouja, Kamboja and Nepal were their servants doing the menial work of holding his umbrella, chamaia, stick or vessel. Devaraya changed the name of Manangi into Lakshmi-Narayanpura in honor of his mother and gave it to his Acharya.

An inscription dated 1431 A. D. on a slab in the inner gopura of an old temple in Vandalur refers to a grant by Devaraya of Vijayanagar.

Ferista observes that Alla-ud-deen's first act was to despatch his brother Mahomed Khan with a powerful army against Deva Raya of Bijnagar, who withheld his tribute for S.W. of Chikba'lapur and contains a plateau ; an excellent lake called Amritasamvar contains very clear water. I have seen these series of hills. They are worth a visit. The extensive ruins of fortifications now seen on the Nandy Hill were erected by Hyder and Tippu strengthening the older ones of the Poleyagars Vijayanagar prince, subdued all the strongholds and placed them under their Viceroy at Mullvagal.

The mention of distant countries like Nepal, Kanouj, etc., raises doubts as to the extent of power of these princes. It looks probable that kings from distant countries might have courted the favor of these powerful emperors to secure their alliance against the aggression of the Mahomedans, sending their deputies with costly presents. In confirmation of this we find that the emperor of Persia sent his ambassador Abdur Razzak with costly presents to court the friendship of Emperor Devaraya II.

Krodhana corresponds with S. 1867 and not with 1374 A. D. The words used in the original are Sindhu, Adri, Rama, Chundra. When read in the reverse order they imply 1874. Ari suggested by Rice does well, but spoils the metre. Speculation is out of question when sasanas are written in fine Sanskrit. There must be some mistakes Sindhu means "Four but Rice puts it for "seven" I do not know what authority he has to do so, Sec. No. 200, Tirthahalli.

five years and refused to pay. The country was laid waste in a ferocious manner, and the Ray, made peace, by giving twenty elephants, a large sum of money and two-hundred female slaves. Flushed with this victory Mahamed, rebelled against his brother, took Mudkal, Roijore, Sholapur, Bijapur and Nandirack ; but in a pitched battle, he was completely defeated by the royal forces. He was forgiven by his brother and the fortress of Roijore was conferred on him.

In 1442 A. D. Deva Raya began to consider very seriously, his position, observes Ferista, called his nobles and Brahmin advisors and observed to them that his country far exceeded that of Bahamini and his forces were greater. He asked them to find the causes for the defeat of the Hindus. Some ascribed this to the superiority of the Mussalman cavalry on account of the good breed of the horses, as against the ill-bread country mounts of the Karnatic. Others said that the Sultan kept a large body of excellent archers while there were only a few in the service of the Ray. Deva Raya entertained Mussalmans in his service, allotted them jahaghirs, built mosques, and commanded that none should molest them.*

He made all the Hindu soldiers, to learn the discipline of the bow in which, he and his State officers used such exertions that in a short time he had 2,000 Mussalmans and 60,000 skilful Hindu archers, besides 80,000 horse and 200,000 foot, armed with pikes and

* NOTE.—Ruins of mosques may now be seen, by the traveller to Bijnagar. The Rayas, were highly tolerant in religious matters, and dealt with the different sections of the huge population, in their empire, in a manner, that would reflect great credit, upon their generosity. They decided caste disputes with great tact and readiness. They introduced wise measures, into their Regulations and Government. Deva Raya II was peculiarly gifted with political, tact and went to the length of sacrificing his Royal Dignity as an Emperor, by allowing the Mussalman servants, to pay their respects to a copy of the Koran which he placed in front of his throne.

lances. Between November 1442 and April 1443 A. D., a desperate attempt seems to have been made on the life of the Emperor Deva Raya, by a close relation of his. Abdur Razzak, who was a contemporary of this event, begins thus :—

“ During the time I was still sojourning in Calicut, an extraordinary and most singular occurrence happened in Bijnagar. The King's brother invited the monarch and the principal personages of the Empire for food. The usage of the “infidels” is not to eat in the presence of each other. All the guests were assembled in one grand hall. At short intervals, the Prince came in person or sent somebody, to say that such and such person should come to eat. He collected all the drums, kettledrums, trumpets and flutes in the city and made a tremendous uproar. As soon as an individual entered the above-mentioned house, two assassins placed in ambush, sprang upon him and cut him to pieces. Guests disappeared very fast in this way. On account of the noise of the drums none was aware of what was going on. All those who had any name or rank in the State were thus treacherously slaughtered. The house was reeking with the blood of his victims. Leaving his home, he went to the King's palace and invited the guards, with flattering words, to go to his house and partake of the dinner. The palace was thus deprived of all its defenders. The villain then entered into the King's presence, carrying a brilliant poignard, in a dish covered with betel-nut and said to the Emperor “ the hall is ready and they only wait for your august presence.” The king following the maxim which says that eminent men, receive inspirations from heaven, said to him, “ I am not in good health to-day.” This unnatural brother then drew his sword and struck several violent bows. The prince fell at the back of his throne. The traitor, believing the king to be dead, left a confident, to cut off his head and went out. He then ascended the portico of the palace, and thus addressed the people,

I have slain the king, his brothers, Amirs, Brahmins and Viziers, Now I am king". His emissary, approached the throne with the object of cutting off the king's head. But the prince seizing the seat, struck the wretch with such force on the chest as to throw him on his back. The Emperor then, with the help of one of his guards, who had concealed himself in a corner out of panic, slew this assassin, and went out of the palace, by way of harem. Addressing the people the king said "I am alive and well, seize that wretch." The whole crowd seized upon the traitor and put him to death. The Dannayak, the Vizier, having gone on a voyage to the frontier of Ceylon escaped assassination. He was sent for in haste and with his help, the king put down the conspirators with deserved severity. Abdur Razzak says that during the second half of 1443 A. D. the Dannayak set out on an expedition to Gulburga. The Bahamini Sultan, hearing of the treacherous attempt to kill the king of Bijnagar and his nobles, sent a message to the king demanding, payment of seven lakhs of pagodas deeming the moment auspicious, for crushing the enemy. Devaraya was troubled and irritated, but being a brave man, sent a bold refusal and prepared for war. Both armies made great ravages on the frontiers of the two kingdoms.*

Ferista thus refers to this war. "Devaraya wantonly attacked the Bahamini Princes, crossed the Tummedra suddenly, took the fortress of Mudkal, sent his sons to

* NOTE.—Nuniz, inaccurate all along his narrative *in re* the early rulers of Bijnagar, states, that this king's son was attacked by his nephew and died six months later and was succeeded by his son. Abdur Razzak clearly says that he was presented in person to Deva Raya II in December 1443 A.D.

A careful student of the lives of great men finds that they get some suggestions from some unknown sources in desperate situations or when treachery overtakes them. Napoleon, Cesar, Hannibal, Bruce, Haider, Shivaji, Dewet, Oyama, Togo, and other great leaders, escaped danger, by changing their plans suddenly under inspired suggestions from higher sources.

besiege Raichur and Bunkipore, encamped himself along the banks of the Krishna and sent out detachments who plundered the country as far as Saugar and Bijapur; Alla-ud-din collected his forces from Telingana, Daulatabad and Berar and repaired to Ahmedabad. He reviewed his army comprising of 50,000 horse, and 60,000 foot with a considerable train of artillery.

In the space of two months, according to Ferista three great battles seem to have been fought, and multitudes were slain on both sides. The Hindus had the victory in the first and the Muhammedans in the other two. The eldest son of Devaraya was killed in the last. The campaign must have been of short duration. It began in May 1443 A. D. and was over before December of the same year, when Abdur Razzak left Vijayanagar. From other records we find that Devaraya was young at his accession in 1423 A. D. and in 1443 A. D. he had already reigned 20 years. The India Office copy, states that the king was exceedingly young at the date of Abdur Razzak's visit. The difficulty may be got over, by imagining that the Persian Ambassador was presented to one of the sons of the ruling monarch.*

An inscription, dated 1426 A. D. records that Devaraya caused a Jain temple to be erected in Vijayanagar in the Pansupari bazaar. This is within the palace enclosure and to the rear of the elephants' stables still standing. The

NOTE:—Ferista's narrative is against the recorded evidence of Abdur Razzak. Devaraya's sons were in charge of independent divisions of Vijayanagar army, and the emperor ordered his sons to reduce the strongholds of Raichur and Bunkipure. They could not have been mere striplings, and Devaraya himself must have been about 40 at this time, to have grown-up sons to lead the armies on the battle field and besiege important fortresses, requiring great military talents and experience. Abdur Razzak distinctly says that Devaraya looked young. Ferista was probably misled in his information. Looking young is different from being young; some look remarkably younger than they really are.

full imperial titles are mentioned in this sasana. Fansupari bazaar lies on either side of the road running along the level ground, direct from the palace gate, near the temple of Hazar Ramaswamy, in a north-easterly direction to meet the road which runs to the Thungabhadra-ferry.*

In 1430 A. D. Devaraya made a grant to a temple far in the south of Tanjore District. There are two inscriptions, dated 1434 and 1435 A. D. at Padavedu in N. Arcot which give full imperial titles to the king.†

An inscription on a stone two miles North of Anagondi in a temple (1436 A. D.) records a grant by Devaraya II. Another dated 1437 A. D. on a stone in the temple of Hanuman in Vijayanagar, declares a grant by that monarch. A sasana dated 1438 A. D. in Kamakshi Temple at Conjeeveram records a grant during the reign of Devaraya Maharaja. A sasana 1438 A. D. found in the Siva Temple at Tirumalai, in Madura District, declares a grant during the reign of Devaraya. This shows that at a very early period, the kings of Vijayanagar acquired power in the extreme south of the Indian Peninsula. On the top of the hill here, a very large old cannon may be seen even to this day.

An inscription dated 1445 A. D., in the Durga temple in Uppenda near Kundapur, records a grant by Vira Devaraya of Vijayanagar. Another inscription at Tanjore dated 1446 A. D. mentions the name of Devaraya and gives him title of the "Lord of four oceans."‡

* *Note*.—The road passed along the north side of the Kallamma and the Rungasawmy Temples leaving the imperial office enclosure, with its lofty walls and watch towers and the elephants' stables on the left. This would approach directly from the old city of Anagondi to the king's palace. See page 78, F. E. Sewell.

† *Note*.—See Hultzsch's S. I. I. vol. I, p. 19.

‡ *Note*.—S. I. A. Vol I, pp. 107, 181, 207, Sewell: Mr. Sewell says there is an inscription dated 2nd August 1449 at Conjeeveram recording grant, by King Vira Pratapa Immadi Devaraya, to whom full

Mr. Sewell's remarks as regards the death of Devaraya II and his introduction of a new reign from 1444 to 1449 A. D. of a Devaraya³ III will be found incorrect, in the light of the following documentary evidence. In 1447 A. D. an inscription, records the correct genealogy of the royal family down to Mallikarjuna, who was then ruling and who is also called Immadi Devaraya. He grants the village of Hagalahalli in Hoysana country to a Brahmin called Devara Bhatta. It further proves that Mallikarjuna, son and successor of Devaraya II was ruling in December 1447 A. D. and that no reign of any other sovereign intervened between Devaraya II and his son Mallikarjuna. The genealogy is given as follows. In the Yaduvamsa, Sangama was born. His son was Bukka, whose son was Harihara II.;

royal titles are given. Mr. Sewell finds fault with Nuniz for not mentioning the name of the successor of Devaraya II. as known to tradition in the 16th century. He thinks that there must have been a Devaraya III. reigning from 1444 A. D. to 1449 A. D.

See pp. 79, 80, F. E. Sewell.

Mr. Sewell is strangely inconsistent, in page 79, F. E. he publishes an inscription by Dr. Kielhorn in his I. An. Vol. xxv, p. 346, which says that Devaraya died in Akshaya (May 1446 A. D.) The sasana referred to is No. 125. Sravanga Belagola, page 128—Rice. The translation is highly colored. Mr. Sewell's remarks on Nuniz seem to be a repetition of his confidence in the Portuguese chronicler ; who is utterly untrustworthy in his names and dates of succession of the early rulers of Vijayanagar. After quoting the clear inscription of Kielhorn about the death of Devaraya II. Mr. Sewell has no business to place confidence on the shaky Portuguese chronicler. Mr. Sewell belittles the title of the lord of the four oceans. When a king is given the rank of an emperor, no other state paraphernalia is necessary. No imperial titles could express higher dignity than the Birudu of the "lord of four oceans." Mr. Sewell is wrong when he says that "Nuniz has not given the name of Devaraya's son, nor yet the length of his reign," and contradicts his own inference on page 302 of his book, by saying that "Pina Rao succeeded Deva Rao and he reigned for 12 years." Nuniz does not name Pina Rao's son and makes Virupaka Rao, the great-grandson of Devaraya ; whereas all discovered inscriptions and archaeological researches show him as the second son of Devaraya who inherited the kingdom from his elder brother Malikarjuna—see pp. 63, 64, 74, 78, 80, 304—F.E. Sewell.

Harihara had Devaraya I whose son Vijaya had Devaraya II. Mallikarjuna or Immadi Devaraya was the son of Devaraya II. and the donor of this grant. There cannot be any clearer evidence than this and Mr. Sewell's statement that Devaraya II. died in 1414 A. D. is based on false premises and is quite incorrect.*

Devaraya I. and his grandson Devaraya II. seem to have done a great deal to improve the royal city of Vijayanagar, to encourage irrigation, to place the infantry and cavalry on a more efficient footing, to invite and patronise learned men from all parts of India, to extend their conquests far into the East Coast and to bring the turbulent chiefs under their complete sway, and to introduce such salutary measures as led to a thorough consolidation of their Power, and the progress of their subjects. Devaraya II. undoubtedly seems to have been the grandest monarch of his time and the description given so faithfully of this empire by Abdur-Razzak, who was an eye-witness to the scenes he has depicted, brings home to the readers that in wealth, prosperity, power, and extent of territory. Devaraya far exceeded his contemporaries, and stood as the foremost Prince in India, if not in the world, at that time. From an examination of the various records available, the Princes of Vijayanagar were found to have been singularly tolerant in religious matters and encouraged the various sections of the community by building religious places for them and prohibiting others from molesting them in the observance of their respective religious rites and worship. Their gifts were munificent and flowed alike among all classes of the community, even including their inveterate enemies the Mahomedans. The Revenues of Deva Raya II. were greater than those of any other Princes in India, and the people appear to have been contented and loyal.

* Note.—No. II, Seringapatam—E. C. Rice.

Deva Raya had the special title of "Gaja Bentakara" or elephant hunter, and from this and other records it may be presumed that he himself was a good shot, a brave warrior, a kind-hearted and charitable prince. He toured throughout his country constantly and made gifts in the extreme south of Madura and the northern parts of Telingana and Orissa. He was personally brave and possessed great presence of mind, as was shown in the dastardly attack made on him by his close relation. From this time, the Kings of the First Dynasty seem to have lost their confidence in their relations. The military conquests of Deva Raya's generals appear to have brought in large subsidies and increased the wealth of the State which now became almost fabulous. Deva Raya II had two sons, Mallikarjuna and Virupaksha, who both sat afterwards on the throne. It is a strange coincidence that when Deva Raya's brother rebelled against him, the brother of the Sultan of Gulburga also rebelled against him, and both traitors met their deserved fate. It is extremely difficult to reconcile Ferista's remark which refers to the payment of tribute by the powerful Hindu emperors of Vijayanagar to the Sultans of Gulburga, with the facts which have been recorded so faithfully by eye-witnesses like Abdur Razzak, Nuniz and Paes. Whenever the Bahimini Sultans wanted war they might have urged the plea of tribute, but it cannot be accepted as a historical fact without strong corroborative evidence. Ferista exultingly mentions the tribute of seven lacs of varahas (pagodas) as being paid by the Vijayanagar Princes. This would be about 21 lacs of rupees, which is almost a trifle when we consider the greed and the need of the Sultans who demanded and the immensely wealthy emperors who were alleged to have paid the amount. A great Hindu empire, extending from the Krishna to Cape Comorin, and from the East to the West Coast, must certainly have produced an enormous revenue. That the Sultans of Gulburga

should have condescended to accept from their bitterest enemies a paltry sum of 7 lacs of pagodas as tribute from a conquered Hindu prince is a significant fact which has to be weighed in the balance of historical evidence. Deva Raya I brought a canal into the city and it gave him an additional revenue of $3\frac{1}{2}$ lacs of varahas. If really the Mahomedans had been successful as often as Ferista wanted them to be, the terms of the several treaties would have been quite different and highly exacting.*

Nuniz directly supports the sasanas which refer to the distant kings of India and surrounding parts as serving and paying tribute to the Emperors of Vijayanagar. It looks therefore highly absurd to think that the needy Mahomedans, if really successful in their wars, could have been content by receiving paltry sums like seven lacs. Ferista's statement stands self-condemned.

If Deva Raya II was in a position to levy tribute, on such distant Princes as those of Pegu, Tenaserim and Ceylon, then not only his military power and resources must have been immense, but also he must have been invariably successful in his wars with the neighbouring Sultans of Gulburga. It would be foolish to think that these distant kings would ever have cared to pay tributes to a monarch who was always defeated by the Mahomedans and who was himself compelled to pay tribute to the Sultans of Gulburga.

The existence of a large and powerful Hindu Kingdom by the side of their territory, must have been a source of permanent danger to the Sultans of Gulburga. There

* Note. Nuniz observes that Deva Raya II reigned 25 years. He determined to collect great treasures, but owing to constant warfare, he could not gain more than 5,50,00,000 of gold, not counting precious stones. This was no great sum, seeing that in his time the king of Coullan, and Pegu and Fouacav and many other countries paid tribute to him. By gold Nuniz means varahas and calculating at the lowest value of Rs. 3, the treasure collected by Deva Raya II was worth about 223 crores of rupees besides precious stones worth many crores.

were many great warriors among them who could have crushed the Hindu Kingdom if, as Ferista says, the Hindus were weak and paid tribute to the Sultans. It seems therefore reasonable to suppose that neither kingdom was strong enough to crush the other. Both fought with each other and both retired from the field of battle with hardly any advantage. In those days of warfare, a crushing defeat was a great political blow and the conquered were at the complete mercy of their conquerors. The silence of Ferista, regarding annexation of the conquered territory, if the Mahomedans were really successful, is a fact which deserves special consideration. The bias of Ferista is great and his logic is quite puzzling. Even when the Hindus conquered, the old story of tribute seems to stick hard to the lips of the Mahomedan Historian.

Ferista would have been more consistent as a historian, if he had shown clearly which were the decisive battles which compelled the Vijayanagar princes to pay tribute and to cede territories to the Bahimini Sultans? Is it logical to suppose that Deva Raya II, who collected tribute from various Princes in India, Burma and Ceylon and to whom even the Shah of Persia sent an ambassador with costly presents to court his friendship, would have been the Prince, that would have paid a trifling subsidy of seven lacs of varahas? All the foreign travellers who were eye-witnesses to the power, prosperity, and success of the Vijayanagar Kings are perfectly silent about this tribute. Ferista hated the "men of darkness" and complacently put in paras in his history, which are not only untrue, and misleading but which thoroughly contradict his own statements. He saw the whole panorama with highly-colored eyes.

CHAPTER XV.

DESCRIPTION OF VIJAYANAGAR.

Different travellers and historians have given different names to this imperial city and it would be interesting to examine the sources which furnished several names to the royal capital. The name of the capital often lends its denomination to the whole of the empire. Vijaya Dwaja built this city in the year 1150 A. D. and called it as Vijayanagar. The Mahomedans named it as Bijnagar ; while the Portuguese travellers described it as Bisanga. The Italian traveller Nicolo called it as Bizengalia ; and Vidyaranya revived it in grand proportions under the name of Vidyanagara. Inscriptions often style it as Anagondi and Hastinavati. Bichenagar and Bidjanagar were also other forms used in its denomination. Before Vijaya Dwaja built it, it seems probable, that there must have been some ruins of a still more ancient city. Probably the ruins of Kishkhinda, once the capital of the powerful Vali, were there. The sight selected on the southern bank of the Tungabhadra was excellent for all purposes. It was a well-built and grand city, enclosed by strong lines of fortifications of cyclopean masonry. Reading through several books relating to the early travels in India the first notice of this kingdom was made by Solemon, a merchant, who made a voyage in the beginning of the ninth century, having his head-quarters in Busrah. He places the King Balhara above the King Djorz, which Abusaid interprets as the King of Kanouj; next Solemon mentions the kingdom of Thapeec, in which the women were more white and beautiful than those of the rest of India. He then places the empire of Rohimy in close contiguity, and says that its sovereign possessed a vast number of troops and went to battle with 50,000 elephants. Cotton stuffs were manufactured in this country, with such exquisite delicacy, that a robe made of it would pass through a signet ring. M. Reinaud considers this to be the ancient kingdom of

Vijayanagar or Vijayapur. Solemon then refers to an inland kingdom, Kaschibayan, probably answering to Mysore.*

Baron Walckenær thinks that the voyages of Sindbad the Sailor are real facts, based upon the knowledge of the Arabs at the time. "The first country Sindbad reaches is that of the Maharaja." The story he tells of the mare of the king going to the shore to meet a stallion emerging from the sea and of an island named Kacel, where beating of the drum was heard, occurs also in Malay annals translated by Mr. Laden. The Author connects this tradition with the foundation of the city of Vijayanagar in the centre of the Deccan. Hence it is inferred that Sindbad's Maharaja was the sovereign of the Deccan, and his city is Vijayanagar, the ruins of which are still seen near the banks of the Tungabhadra. Katibtchelli, the Turkish geographer, describes this city as the most magnificent and the wealthiest in its commerce of the two capitals of Narasinga.*

Nicolo DiConti, a noble Venetian, lived as a merchant in Damascus in his younger years. He started on his eastern travels in 1420 A. D. and returned to Venice in 1444 A. D. after travelling in different countries for nearly 25 years. He first visited the city of Cambaya in Guzarat then in a flourishing condition. After a few days' stay, he passed down the coast to "Facumaria and Helly. Thence he travelled inland 300 miles and came to the great city of Bizangalia, the capital of the mightiest kingdom at that time in India." His description is graphic, and looks

* NOTE.—The voyages of Solemon were first translated into French by M. E. Renandot and published in Paris in 1781 A. D. An English translation appeared in 1788 A. D. and M. Renandot gave a correct translation in 1845 A. D. See p. 27, Intro. India in the XV century. Hakluyt.

NOTE.—Sindbad's voyages are considered to be coincident in dates with Solemon. See p. 81, R. A. Major's XV century travels. Narasimha ruled in Vijayanagar from 1179 to 1246 A. D. or 67 years and was the son of Vijayadwaja who founded the city.

almost incredible. He says: "The great city of Bizangalia (Vijayanagar) is situated near very steep mountains. The circumference of the city is 60 miles. Its walls are carried up to the mountains and enclose the valleys at their foot, so that its extent is thereby increased. In this city are estimated to be 90,000 men to bear arms. Eight days' journey from Bizangalia was the noble city of Palagonda (Penugonda) subject to the same sovereign. Twenty days hence by land brought him to the sea-port of Pendifetamia (Dharmapatnam) near Tellicherry. Passing on the road he saw the two cities Odeschiria (Udayagiri) and Cenderghiria (Chandragiri)."

Mr. Sewell observes that "the extent of the lines of defences was extraordinary. Lofty and massive stone walls everywhere crossed the valleys, and mounted over the hill sides." The distinguished geologist Lieut. Newbold thus observes: "The whole of the extensive site occupied by the ruins on the south bank of the Tungabhadra and of its superb Anagondi on the northern bank, is occupied by great bare piles and houses of granite and granitoidal gneiss, separated by rocky defiles and narrow rugged valleys encumbered by precipitate masses of rock. Some of the larger flat-bottomed valleys are irrigated by aqueducts from the river. The peaks, tors, and logging stones of Bijnagar and Anegundi, indent the horizon in picturesque confusion and are scarcely to be distinguished from the more artificial ruins of the ancient metropolis of the

NOTE.—Facumaria is guessed to be Barakur in South Canara situated in a fertile and well watered country. It is in ruins. Dr. Buchanan says that it was founded by Harihara II of Vijayanagar. Hellyer refers to Mount d'Ely. Nicolo visited many interior parts of Hindustan and then passed on to Ceylon, Sumatra, Java, into the south of China. He visited afterwards the coasts of Ethiopia (Red Sea), crossed the desert and went to Cairo. From thence he returned to Venice and petitioned Pope Eugene IV for absolution. The Pope granted his prayer, on condition he related his travels to Poggi Bracciolini, his secretary. Olivier, published this in 1728 A. D. and from it the Hakluyt Society made its translation.

Deccan, which are usually constructed with blocks quarried from their sides and vie in grotesqueness of outline and massiveness of character, with the alternate airiness and solidity exhibited by nature, in the nicely poised logging stones and columnar piles and in the walls of prodigious cuboidal blocks of granite which often crest and top her massive domes and ridges in natural cyclopean masonry." Mr. Sewell half realises the grandeur when he says " the remains of palaces, temples, walls, and gate-ways are still to be seen and these abound not only on the side of Vijayanagar proper, but also on the north side of the swiftly rushing river, where stood the stately citadel of Anagondi, the mother of the empire city." The population of this double city was immense and the area occupied by it very extensive. From the last fortification to the south beyond the present town of Hospet, to the extreme point of the defences of Anagondi on the north, the distance is above 12 miles. From the extreme western line of walls and the plains, to the last of the eastern works amongst the hills lying in the direction of Daroja and Kampili, the interval measures about 10 miles. On the rocks above are the ruins of buildings and temples and walls, and in many places small shrines stand out built on the jutting edges of great boulders or on the pinnacles of lofty crags in places that would seem inaccessible to anything but monkeys and birds. In the central enclosure are the remains of great structures, that must once have been remarkable for their grandeur and dignity. These immediately surrounded the king's palace, but in 1565 A.D. the Mahomedans worked their savage will upon them with such effect, that only the crumbling ruins of the more massive edifices amongst them still stand.

Note.—The extreme distance I have measured from the south of modern Hospet, where the great Royalcheruvu stands, to the north of Anagondi at Basavaputtanadakanewe, the distance is about 15 miles and the extreme distance from the east to the west, where unmistakable ruins of the former city may still be seen, is about 11 miles. This huge area of 15 sq. m. or 165 miles was one continuous city with such tanks,

Nicolo seriously laboured under special disadvantages of language, when he gathered information, about the manners and customs of the Hindus. His remarks, therefore, should be received with great caution. He observes—The inhabitants of this region marry as many as they please. Their king is more powerful than all the other kings of India. He takes to himself 12,000 wives, of whom 4,000 follow on foot and are employed solely in the kitchen. A like number, more handsomely equipped, ride on horseback. The remainder are carried by men on litters.

A grand car procession is thus described by Nicolo. "During a certain time of the year, the Hindus carry their idols through the city placed between two chariots, in which are young women, richly adorned. Thrice in the year, the Hindus keep special solemnity. On one occasion, males and females of all ages bathe, clothe themselves in new garments and spend the entire day in dancing,

pleasure-grounds, water-channels, fruit-gardens, parade grounds and open spaces, as were needed, for the comforts of its inhabitants and the luxuries of its nobles. The noble edifices which were raised by the princes of the II Dynasty in Nagalapur, modern Hospet, seem to have been entirely destroyed without leaving any traces. Nicols seems to have visited Vijayangar about 20 years before Abdur Razzak, and it is a strange circumstance that both of these travellers left descriptions of the city as they saw it during the time of Emperor Deva Raya II. Their graphic descriptions of the city, its magnificence, military power and wealth, strike a grand blow to the alleged subordination, defeat, and payment of tribute, by these Princes to the Sultans of Gulburga.

Nicolo was thoroughly misled about these women whom he calls king's wives. No king in India ever kept more than a hundred women in his harem, and even these more for pleasure and dissipation than as lawful wives. Deva Raya II had two married queens, each of whom was attended by thousands of maid-servants, handsomely dressed and wearing costly jewels. The Venetian traveller mistakes them for the wives of the ruling monarch. None of the inscriptions make mention of thousands being burnt in sati. It was not resorted to by all classes, even including Brahmins, only in special cases virtuous women resorted to sati, and that the mention of this as a special matter in the inscriptions, shows that sati was not common. Four thousand kitchen women certainly never formed king's wives. They were cooks and not queens.

singing and feasting. On another occasion they fix up within their temples and on the roofs, an innumerable number of lamps and keep them burning day and night. On the third feast, which lasts 9 days, they set up in all the highways, large beams in the upper part of which are attached pieces of very beautiful cloth interwoven with gold. A pious man dedicated to religion, is placed upon it, to pray for the favour of God. People pelt him with oranges, lemons and other odoriferous fruits. There are also other three festival days, during which they sprinkle all passers-by, even the king and queen themselves, with saffron water, placed for that purpose by the way side, This is received by all people with much laughter.*

Nicolo found very large quantities of diamonds in this empire and the process he names for the gathering of diamonds was the same as that narrated by Sindbad the Sailor. The direction given by Nicolo about the diamonds, points to the mines in the Krishna river known as the mines of Golconda. Marco Polo mentioned the same mines in 1296 A. D. "The Hindus," says Conti, "divide the year into twelve months, and name them after the signs of the Zodiac." He says: "They Natives, call us Franks and say that while they call other nations blind, that they

NOTE--The bathing and dancing for three days refers to Deepavali when even beggars will bathe and procure new clothing. Mr. Sewell says: "The first of these festivals may be the Canarese New Year's day which Paes, asserts to have fallen during his visit to Vijayanagar on October 12th. If Paes made a mistake in Hindu calculations there is some excuse. Mr. Sewell, who spent the best part of his life in India, does not seem to have understood the dates of the Hindu festivals. And this is very strange. The New Year's day invariably falls in the latter part of March or the first part of April. This is the Canarese and the Telugu New year's days." The Tamilian, identified with the solar movement, falls invariably between the 11th and 14th of April. The New Year's days never fall in October. The lighting of lamps on a large scale refers to Kartika or November. The nine-days' festival is the Dussehra or Maha-Navami. The three-days' festival when saffron water is sprinkled on all passers-by, refers to "Holi Festival" or "Kamana Hunnam."

themselves have two eyes and that we have but one because they consider that they excel all others in prudence.*

"The people of Cambay used paper, while the rest of the Indians wrote on the leaves of the trees," says Nicolo. The debtors were the property of their creditors. The numbers of people and nations in the empire of Vijayanagar, exceed belief and their armies consist of a million men and upwards. The natives of Central India make use of the ballisti and those machines which we call bombarders, also other warlike instruments adapted for besieging cities.*

NOTE.—Muhammadans call the Hindus, "men of darkness." Christians call other nations "pagans" who worship false gods. Chinese call themselves "celestials," and denominate foreigners as "devils."

These debtors are called slaves by Nicolo. Slavery, in its strictest sense, never existed in India. The debtors, unable to discharge their debts, were probably compelled to serve directly or indirectly under their creditors. This form of slavery exists all over the world. Poorer classes of people, struggling for existence with large families, can ill afford to disobey their paymasters. Call it slavery or independence, the poor man with a heavy domestic burden, continues to be the real slave of his employer or money-lender. The enormous strikes of the labouring classes to-day can only have one explanation and simply prove, that the oppressed poor when the tyranny reaches an acute stage,—resort to these efforts of freeing themselves from the bonds of slavery, thrown around them by godless and greedy capitalists. The present slave, is theoretically a free man, but practically, endures greater slavery and misery than his namesake did in the earlier centuries. Nicolo is confirmed by the diaries of Abdur Razzak in many particulars. The palm leaves are used even to-day for writing purposes in India. Volumes of very old leaves are preserved in several libraries and they count their age by thousands of years.

Paper seems to have been in use in India from very early times. In one of my wanderings among the hills round Anagondi, I lost my way and had to go jumping from boulder to boulder like the ancestors of "Huxley's mankind." My guide got confounded, for fear of some "cordial meeting" with the wild denizens, who are fond of human flesh. After 3 or 4 hours of fruitless search for our way, we got into a large cave, where hundreds of thousands of canon-balls of various descriptions and an unusually large number of human bones were found. I could make no historical guess; then, beyond the fact, that a large garrison perished there, or that the dead and the dying were thrown into it in a bloody engagement. With the greatest difficulty, and with scratches all over the body, we were able to descend on the side of Pampasarover, after a painful wandering for nearly ten hours. I did not make another attempt to identify the cave, lest I should pass into the category of our by-gone ancestors. Some of these caves are of enormous dimensions and seem to have been used to conceal large bodies of troops and ammunition.

Abdur Razzak's description represents the true feelings of an intelligent foreign traveller at scenes utterly new to him. Razzak, entered the service of Shah Rukh (King of Persia) in 1441 A. D. and was sent out on an important mission to the Emperor of Vijayanagar. M. Quartremere, referring to Abdur Razzak's diaries (Vol. XIV of *Extraits des' manuscripts*) says " that it is incontestably one of the most curious and veracious histories that has been written in any of the eastern languages." Razzak set out from Herat in January 1442 A.D. He remained some months at Muscat and says " the heat was so intense, that the marrow boiled in the bones, and the metal of their swords melted like wax. He arrived at Calicut and speaks in terms of commendation of the honesty of the people and the facilities of commerce." "The natives," he remarks, resembled devils rather than men. These devils were all black and naked, having only a piece of cloth, tied around their middle, holding in one hand a javelin and in the other a buckler.*

The Persian Ambassador has quite a knack of describing what he saw, and the story of his visit, to the grand capital, must be told by himself in his own inimitable style. We give a purport of his description, for fear of increasing the bulk of this little History. "A man brought intelligence,

NOTE:—Langlois published a collection of voyages in 1798 A. D., in which, the diary of Abdur Razzak appeared. M. Querard proves that Langlois was guilty of literary fraud. M. Audiferret proves that the voyage of Abdur Razzak was taken entirely from a French translation made by M. Galland, the translator of the *Arabian Nights Entertainment* "from a history of Shah Rukh and the other descendants of Tumoor, written by the same Abdur Razzak. Two copies of this are in the National Library at Paris. A European who lands for the first time at Madras or any of the other seaports now and who sees the black and raggedly dressed coolies and boatmen will entertain similar ideas as Abdur Razzak did then. Six centuries of civilisation, has made no change, in the complexion or dress of these coolies. The Arms Act of the British Government has taken away javelins and Bucklers. Abdur Razzak resided six months at Calicut, and then went to Vijayanagar at the call of Deva Raya II,

that the King of Bidjanagar, who holds a powerful empire and a mighty dominion under his sway, sent a delegate, with a letter to the Sumari, to send him, the ambassador of the King of Persia. Sumari, is not subject to the laws of Bijnagar, but, pays respect and stands extremely in fear of him, since he has 300 seaports, each of which is equal to Calicut, and on terra firma, his territories comprise a space of three months' journey." Leaving Calicut, he went to Mangalore by sea, which formed the frontier of the kingdom of Bidjanagar. He journeyed inland, passing many towns, and saw in one of them a wonderful temple, made of bronze. "At length, I came to a mountain, whose summit reached the skies. Leaving this forest behind me, I reached a town called Belour, the houses of which were like palaces and where there was a temple with exquisite sculpture.*

* NOTE.— Sir H. Elliot, and Sewell, seem to have fallen into unpardonable error, regarding Razzak's Belour. Mr. Sewell says, " the place, alluded to was probably Bednur." Page 88, F. E.

Elliot considers it as Bidrur. Abdur Razzak's travels refer to 1448 A. D. Bednor or Nagar was an insignificant village then, which came to prominence, about 1640 A. D. Mr. Rice says, "it was a small village called Biduruhalli, bamboo village and was the property of a Brahmin. In 1640 A. D. under the name of Bidrur or Bednor, it became the capital of the Keladi chiefs being in the direct course of trade it increased rapidly in size and importance, until the houses reached the number of one-hundred thousand and hence it was called a Nagar. The walls were eight miles in circumference and had ten gates. The famous Sivappa Naick, who ruled from 1645 A. D. to 1660 A. D. and who helped the fallen Vijayanagar monarch Sri Ranga Raya at a later period, had greatly added to its importance. Hyder Ali captured the city and carried away a booty of twenty crores of rupees, which greatly strengthened his shaky political position at that time. It would be absurd therefore to identify Bednur with Abdur Razzak, Belour. Bednor never contained any temple, with exquisite sculpture. Abdur Razzak, certainly seems to have passed by the Baba Budan mountains near Kadur and then visited Belur which was once the magnificent capital of the Hoysala King Vishnuvardhana. Even now there is a splendid temple built by Dekkanachari. This is one of the finest in India and ought to be visited by every student of Indian architecture. The Vijayanagar Princes took a "peculiar interest in the province of Balam which included Belur, and to have made great

Razzak reached the capital in April 1443 and he thus describes his first impressions. "The king sent a numerous cortège to meet us and appointed us a very handsome house for our residence. His dominion extends from the frontier of Sirindib, to the extremities of the country of Gulburga. One sees there more than a thousand elephants, in their size resembling a mountain and in their form resembling devils. The army amount in number to efforts to colonise it." Every encouragement was given to settlers of all castes by granting them land at little or no rent.

Later on all the west of this district with some adjoining tracts, above and below ghats were bestowed upon Veena Ramappa, a court musician of Vijayanagar. Ramappa abdicated it after some time and the province of Balam yielding three lakhs of pagodas, was made over by the princes of Vijayanagar to Singappa Naick (in 1397 A. D.), one of their generals and the son of an old polligar.

This supports the sasanas which refer to the great proficiency of Harihara II in music and other fine arts. Veena Ramappa lived in Harihara II's time.

Belur was one of the grandest cities during the period of the Hoysala Bellas and continued to be so, till the end of the XV century. According to an inscription 1397 A. D., (Iswara,) we learn that Commander-in-Chief Gunda, rebuilt the Belur temple with seven storeys, the gopura over the door-way and set up on its summit a golden kalasa. See pp. 188, 189, (*supra*).

Baba Buden Range is about 25 miles from Belur which has a picturesque geographical situation apart from its artificial grandeur. The bronze temple referred to was an equilateral square of about 30 feet and 15 ft in height. It was formed of cast bronze. It had four eastrades and in the front, stood a human figure, made of solid gold. Its eyes formed of rubies are placed so artistically that the statue seems to look at you. The whole is worked with wonderful delicacy and perfection. Mangalore contained the navy of the Vijayanagar kings under an admiral and the bronze temple was about ten miles from it. After passing this temple "I came each day to some city or populous town." This is pregnant with social and political meaning. Razzak could not have travelled more than 15 or 20 miles a day, and when he found very populous cities "within these short distances" it gives the reader a clear idea of the vast amount of population living in the country and the large number of towns and cities in it. Referring to Belur temple, he says, "it is so lofty as to be visible

11 lakhs. One might seek in vain, throughout the whole of Hindustan a more absolute Rai, for the monarchs of this country bear the title of Rai. The city of Bidjanagar is such, that the pupil of the eye has never seen a place like it and the ear of intelligence has never been informed that there existed anything equal to it in the world. It is built in such a manner, that seven citadels and the same number of walls enclose each other. Around the citadel are stones of the height of a man, one half of which is sunk in the ground, while the other half rises above it. These are fixed one beside the other in such a manner, that no horse or foot soldier could boldly or with ease approach the citadel."

The first wall must have been in the neck between the two hills south-west of Hospet beyond the grand bund,

at a distance of many parasangs." So great a number of figures and pictures had been drawn by the pen, that it would be impossible in the space of a month to sketch it. From the bottom of the building to the top, the temple is covered with paintings and sculptures of extreme delicacy. This was the Velapuri of the Sanskrit writers. There are mines of sapphires about 10 or 15 miles from Bular, close to a village called Belavadi. I have seen the quarries containing fine specimens of green stones. Hoysala Bellalas did a great deal to beautify and enrich Belur and the Vijayanagar princes, out of respect to those great sovereigns, granted liberal sums and kept up the grandeur of Belur.

NOTE.—Mr. Sewell says that the stones have now disappeared. He is entirely mistaken. When I drove with the present Raja of Anagondi to Sangapur, 6 miles north-east, we had to get down from the tonga for over a mile to cross the plain, which contained these stones called "kudarai datu kallu" or "stones to prevent the jumps of horses. These must have been formidable for foreign horses to approach the citadels, exposing them to the strong fire of the batteries. Paes, who visited Vijayanagar during the time of Krishna Raya, thus refers to the event. "And there is yet another defence made in the following manner. Certain pointed stones of great height are fixed in the ground as high as a man's breast". Mr. Sewell says that the position of these seven walls and gates has long been a puzzle to me. Daroja, (a railway station now) means, the principal entrance to the great city. It is 10 or 12 miles from Vijayanagar. Toranagallu, also a railway station, 16 miles from Vijayanagar, represented the outermost limits of this extensive metropolis. *Torana* and *kallu* are two Kannada words, meaning two-stone pillars, across which wreaths of green mango leaves or other flowers are hung up by way of showing respect when the princes returned to the city after victory or long tours. The ploughs of the busy cultivators and the pickaxes of the house builders, working through the long period of five centuries, have removed many of these seven lines of fortifications, leaving, however, ample traces of their existence and direction,

which Krishna Deva Raya raised. From thence, Razzak must have passed down the slope through cultivated fields, houses and gardens, to the entrance of Hospet, where the second line of fortifications barred the way. The third line of wall is about a mile north of Hospet enclosing the famous Anantana Gudi, the dome of which is a masterpiece of architectural construction. From thence the houses became thicker, forming a long street, with shops on either side, leading thence to the capital. The fourth line of wall with a strong gateway can be seen on the south of Malapanagudi, where several remains of old buildings exist and notably a handsome stone-well. The fifth line is on the north of Malapanagudi and the great gateway still stands. The sixth line is passed just to the south of the Kamalapur tank. The seventh or inner line is the great wall still seen in fairly good repair north of that village. This last probably surrounded the palace and the Government buildings, the space enclosed measuring, roughly, a mile from north to south and two miles and a quarter from east to west. *

NOTE.—South of Kamalapur may be seen a strong fort wall with high batteries, probably the outer wall of the palace enclosure. These are the defences on the south of Vijayanagar; on the north, there is a line close to Kamalapur. The second line, about a mile from it, continues into the adjacent hills topped by powerful batteries. This would afford strong defence on the Kampli side. The third wall contains the gateway leading to Talawarghatta, from where people had to cross to the Anagondi side. Close to the northern bank of the Tungabhadra, there is a fort wall with battlements. Before reaching Anagondi, a distance of a mile, there are two lines of fortifications, standing in their grandeur. North of Anagondi, there is a strong line connecting the two ranges of hills enclosing it. Passing northwards, there are three more lines of strong masonry walls. Thus the place was quite impregnable as it was defended by about 14 lines of fortifications. If the cowardly princes of Vijayanagar after the battle of Talikota, instead of running away to Penukonda with all their treasure, had simply closed their several fort-gates, the history of Vijayanagar would have been quite different. A small garrison inside these impregnable fortresses, could have kept at bay even a more powerful army than the four combined Mahomedans possessed. Their headlong flight, without any pretence of defence and with inexhaustible resources to help them, proves that when national destinies are closed panic strikes its leaders and leads them to utter destruction. The handsome well referred to is called "Suli Bhavi" or winding well. Slabs are joined with extreme delicacy and artistic skill and even after the lapse of 6 or 7 centuries it is in an excellent condition of preservation.

• The outer citadel was built on the summit of a mountain, of a round shape and had very solid gates with guards, who examined everything with severe inspection. The guards at the gates were doubtless officers, says Mr. Sewell, "entrusted with the collection of octroi duties." Sir H. Elliot's translation (IV. 101) adds to the passage as quoted the words "they collect the jizyat or taxes." This system of collecting octroi dues at the gates of principal towns lasted till recent days, having only been abolished by the British Government.*

Razzak says—the seventh fortress is placed in the centre and occupies an area, ten times larger than the market place in Herat and contains the palace of the King. The distance between the opposite gates of the outer fortresses is two parasangs and the same east to west.†

The space which separates the first fortress from the second and up to the third is filled with cultivated fields, houses and gardens. From the third to the seventh one meets a numberless crowd of people, many shops, and a bazaar. By the King's palace are four bazaars, placed opposite to each other ; on the north is the portico of the palace of the Rai. Above each bazaar is a lofty arcade with a magnificent gallery ; but the audience hall of the King's palace is elevated above all the rest. The bazaars are extremely long and broad. Roses are sold everywhere. These people could not live without roses and they look upon these as

*NOTE.—Mr. Sewell is quite wrong. The system of collecting octroi has not been abolished by the present Government. He would do well to go to Delhi, Lahore, Benares, Allahabad, Bangalore and other important cities with his baggage to see if he is correct. In Hyderabad and other Native States the "Kai odgiri" is a regular source of nuisance to the hapless visitor. It is a grievance without a remedy even at the present day.

† A parasang measures 3½ or 4 miles. Mr. Sewell observes "close to the gate of the palace proper these roads would intersect at right angles and would form four separate bazaars. The galleries and porticos are now not in existence ; but the remains of the street, running east from the Hampi temple, will show what the galleries were like in those days. This last street alone is half a mile long.

quite as necessary as food. Each class of men belonging to each profession has shops contiguous, the one to the other. The jewellers sell publicly in the bazaars pearls, rubies emeralds and diamonds. In this agreeable locality as well as in the King's Palace one sees numerous running streams and channels, formed of chiselled stone, polished and smooth. *

On the left of the king's portico, rises the Divankhana which is extremely large and looks like a palace. In front of it is a hall, the height of which is above the stature of a man; its length 30 ghuz (90 feet) and breadth 10 ghuz (30 feet). In it is placed the Dufterkhana (records) and here sit the scribes. The writing of these people is of two kinds. In one they write their letters with a *kalam* (pen) of iron upon a leaf of Indian nut (cocoanut) which is two ghuz in length and two fingers in breadth. In the second kind of writing, they blacken a white surface, they then take a soft stone, which they cut like a *kalam*, with which they used to form the letters. This stone leaves on the black surface a white color which lasts a very long time and is held in high estimation. †

* NOTE.—Remains of water-canals can be seen all over the ruined palaces even now. Sir H. Elliot's translation says that the Divankhana "resembles a forty-pillared hall." It is difficult to identify these places now as many of them have been destroyed. They may refer to the great enclosure which lies to the west of the elephants' stables. Mr. Sewell says that the lofty wall with watch-towers at the angles, which surround the enclosure referred to, would be just such as might be erected for the protection of the royal archives and offices of the kingdom. If so, the hall in front would be the structure called the concert hall. This hall would be the usual working office of the minister and his colleagues. Mr. Sewell's guess is incorrect. Razzak makes the hall in front 90 by 80 feet and the height above the stature of a man or 9 or 10 feet. The present hall is two-storeyed and does not answer, besides it is not so long. Dannayaka is a corruption of Dandanayaka or the chief who deals out punishments or a commander-in-chief of the forces. It is not so easy to see why a Dannayak should be a eunuch. Tchobdars correspond to orderlies, armed with the usual weapons of military men in those days.

† NOTE.—The palm leaves are commonly used even now. The other material is thus prepared. They take fresh white cloth and apply to it certain black stuff, which leaves a clean black surface, like that of a slate, on which they write with the white pot stone pencils. It is called in Kanada, "kadatha." I have seen specimens of these in Sringeri Muṭṭ as

"In the middle of this palace, upon a high estrade is seated an eunuch, called the Daing, who alone presides over the Divan. At the end of the hall stand Tchobdars (Hussars), drawn up in line. The Divan or Dannaik settles people's affairs and hears their petitions. There is no appeal against his decision. After concluding business the Dannaik passes through seven doors to the palace, and entering into the last alone, makes his report to the king. Behind the king's palace are the house and hall allotted to the Daiang. To the left of the said palace is the Darabkhana or the Mint."

In this country they have three kinds of money made of gold mixed with alloy, one called varaha, which weighs about one mithakal, equivalent to two "dinaros." The second called "per tab" is half of the first. The third called "fanam" is one-tenth of the last-mentioned coin. Of these coins the fanam (Hana in Kannada) is the most useful. They cast in pure silver a coin which is the sixth of the fanam called "tar." A copper coin worth one-third of a tar is called "djital." According to the practice adopted in this empire, all the provinces at a fixed period bring their gold to the mint. If any man receive from the Divan an allowance in gold, he has to be paid by the Darabkhana. The

old as a thousand years, in excellent state of preservation. They are used even now in small mofussil stations. The selling of large quantities of valuable pearls and gems in public streets without any fear speaks volumes in favour of police arrangements and the dread the ruling Princes inspired into the criminal classes.

* NOTE.—Mr. Sewell says, "that Abdur Razzak's description looks as if he were standing at the gate of the palace, looking eastwards". I am inclined to think that he stood with his face north-east from the palace gate. One standing near "Mahanavami Dibba," the high stone-built throne on which the emperors sat to review troops on festival occasions near the old palaces, sees this grand enclosure more to the north than to the east. The bazaar behind the mint was 300 x 20 yards and must have looked very grand indeed during those days, with noble edifices on both sides, with towering palace buildings in front, with majestic temples all round and with rocky hills of picturesque appearance on all sides covered with habitations and fanea of various description,

soldiers receive their pay every four months and no payment is ever made by draft upon the revenues of any province.*

Razzak continues.—“This empire contains so great a population that it would be impossible to give an idea of it without entering into extreme details. In the king's palace are several cells, like basins filled with bullion forming one mass. All the inhabitants of the country, both high and low, down to the workman in the bazaar, wear pearls or rings set with precious stones in their ears, on their necks, on their arms, on the upper part of the head, and on the fingers. Opposite the Devankhana is the house of elephants.

Although this monarch possesses a considerable number of elephants in his dominions, the largest of these animals are kept near the palace in the interior of the first and second fortress. The king possesses one white elephant of an extremely great size, on whose body are scattered here and there grey spots like freckles. Every morning this elephant is led out before the King and the sight of the animal seems to act as a happy omen. The elephants of the palace are fed upon Kicheri and they

* NOTE.—This description reveals much useful information. Coins of gold, silver and copper were in full circulation. They had plenty of gold, which came to them every year from the remotest corners of their empire in enormous quantities. This certainly presupposes the existence of excellent mining industries in India and other surrounding countries. The Mint offices apparently had two departments, the “coining” and the “paying” branches. The accounts were made simple by giving drafts only on the Huzur Treasury. No drafts were made on Provincial Governments. A varaha would be about four rupees and “pertab” two rupees. A fanam is one-tenth of this or about 3 annas. The silver coin called tar which is the sixth of a fanam would be about half an anna or $\frac{1}{3}$ of a two-anna piece. The copper coin djital, one-third of the tar, would be equal to a two-pie piece. I have collected some very old coins, and possess a small Vijayanagar copper round coin bearing on one side in distinct Kannada characters the word “Vijaya”. This may be about one half of the ordinary copper pie. It is very nicely done and seems to have been made by the Vijayanagar Mint.

take food twice a day. Each elephant has a separate compartment, the walls of which are extremely solid, and the roof composed of strong pieces of wood. Even the sovereigns of Hindustan take part in hunting the elephant. They remain a whole month or even more in a desert or in the jungles and when they have taken one of these animals they are greatly proud of their *shikari*. The merchants who trade in elephants go to seek them in the Island of Ceylon and export them to different countries, where they sell them according to the tariff which varies with their height. Opposite the *mint* is the house of the Governor where are estimated to be 12,000 soldiers on guard. Behind the *mint* is a sort of bazaar which is more than 300 ghuz (yards) in length and more than 20 in breadth, on two sides are ranged houses and four courts. In front of this are erected instead of Kurzi (chair or bench) several lofty seats constructed of beautiful stone. On the two sides of the avenue, formed by the chambers, are represented figures of lions, panthers, tigers and other animals. All are so well drawn and their movements so natural in appearance that you would think these animals were alive.*

* NOTE.—The description given by Abdur Razzaq of the way of catching elephants shows great originality among these people. He observes: On the road taken by the animal to drink they dig a trench and cover it over lightly. When an elephant falls into it two or three days are allowed to elapse before anybody approaches him. Then a man comes and strikes him several blows with a stick well applied. Upon this another man shows him self and violently drives away the man who struck the blows and seizing his stick hurls it a great way off. After which he throws some food to the elephant and goes away. For several days this process is skilfully performed. Before long the animal becomes very friendly with the latter individual who, by degrees, approaches the elephant and offers him fruits for which the animal is known to have a special liking. He then scratches him and then rubs him, and the elephant won over by this means submits without resistance and allows a chain to be passed round his neck. Compare modern khedda operations. Razzaq's diaries are wonderfully confirmatory of the inscriptions which have been discovered about these princes. Devaraya II. was distinctly called Gaja-elephant. Bentay (hunting), Kara, man or hunter of elephants.

It is highly interesting to note the keen power of observation Razzaq possessed. If these "lions, panthers, tigers and other animals" exhibited

Thrones and chairs are placed on the platforms and the courtesans seat themselves thereon bedecked in gems and fine raiment. They are all extremely young and of perfect beauty. The guards have it assigned to them as a duty to make themselves acquainted with every event which occurs within the fortresses. If any article is lost or stolen by thieves, it is their duty to report it, if not they are bound to make it good.*

Razzak took his abode in a lofty house, which had been prepared for his use on the 1st of Moharam (1st May 1443 A. D.). He was highly pleased with the spacious accommodation and the rich supplies the court had arranged for him during his stay at Vijayanagar. "One day some messengers sent from the Palace of the Emperor came to seek me and at the close of the same day I presented myself at court and offered for the monarch's acceptance four beautiful horses and some Kokans of damask and satin. The prince was seated in a hall

movements of limbs, which give them a real life-like appearance, then certainly the skill of the artificers who could construct moving and turning pavilions of five or seven stories high and design artificial animals, with such animated appearances must have been very wonderful. None of our present-day civilised nations has yet produced such magnificent specimens of designs and workmanship. *Kurat* means a chair or a bench to sit upon.

* NOTE.—It is a fine system of police administration in which nothing can be lost without their knowledge. If an article was missing they had to make good the loss. It was therefore in their own interests that the guards had to be specially vigilant so that they may not suffer by their carelessness. These soldiers were probably semi-military, as they had to keep an eye on every important event which transpired within the fort walls, and also to detect the offenders. This large number of soldiers, close to the palace, shows not only its extent and population but also the huge numbers of inhabitants the city must have contained. Even to-day there are some districts in the presidency of Madras where there are certain low castes called *Kulla Korachars*, who are paid something regularly per annum by the house-owners to keep them from thefts and pilferings. Articles lost will at once be restored on intimation to the headman who keeps a complete control over these *Korachars*. It may look strange, but it is a fact.

surrounded by the most imposing attributes of State. Right and left of him stood a numerous crowd of men arranged in a circle. The Emperor was dressed in a robe of green satin, around his neck he wore a collar composed of pearls of beautiful water and other splendid gems. He had an olive complexion, his frame was thin and he was rather tall ; on the cheeks might be seen a slight down but there was no beard on his chin.

The expression of his countenance was extremely pleasing. On being led into the presence of this monarch, I bowed my head three times. The Prince received me with interest and made me take my seat very near him. When he took the august letter of the Emperor (Persia) he handed it to the interpreter, and said "my heart is truly delighted to see that a great king has been pleased to send me an ambassador." Five hundred pieces of gold, a sabre decked with gems, betel leaves and nuts and some quantity of camphor were presented to him by Devaraya II. and received his permission to go home. Twice in a week, at the close of the day, the king sent for him and put questions to him respecting his Majesty the happy Kha-khan. On each occasion Abdur Razzak received a purse of gold, a packet of betel and some camphor. On one occasion the Emperor said to him by his interpreter: "Your monarchs invite an ambassador and receive him to their tables. As you and we may not eat together, this purseful of gold is the feast we give to an ambassador." The properties of betel and nuts are well described by Razzak. He explains that "in Hindustan, the greater part of the country of the Arabs and the kingdom of Ormuz an extreme fondness prevails for this leaf which in fact deserves its reputation."*

* Note.—Devaraya II. looked young and he could not have been more than 40 years when Abdur Razzak saw him. It is illogical to side with Mr. Sewell, who thinks that the Persian Ambassador was introduced to one of the Princes of Vijayanagar and not to the ruling Emperor. Many of the earlier Vijayanagar rulers probably kept no beards and the moustaches

Razak continues—if reports speak truly the number of the princesses and concubines amounts to 700. Two women never inhabit the same house, and each has a separate maintenance. As soon as a beautiful girl is found in any part of the kingdom, when the consent of the father and mother is obtained, she is conducted with great pomp to the harem. She enjoys the highest consideration although no strangers are allowed to see her. The establishment for these women must have been very costly and the number of maid-servants must have been counted by thousands. The sovereigns *obtained* the *consent of the parents*, thereby proving, beyond any doubt, the absence of the royal lust and tyranny, and the violence which characterised the capture of handsome girls

varied according to physical compositions. Razzak could not have committed such a serious blunder as to confound any one of the younger princes with the ruling emperor, specially as he remained many months in this royal city and was sent for once or twice a week by the Emperor and was each time presented with a purse full of gold coins.

Huklyat translates the name of the festival as "*Mahanadi*" and Elliot "*Mahanawal*." The description and details show that it may have been "*Maha Navami*" which usually falls in October, or it may have been celebrated as a special festival on political considerations. Sewell has not shown on what authority he considers that the New Year's day was celebrated at Vijayanagar on the 1st of Kartikai. Taking a false premises he tries to support it by a winding argument. See p. 88, F. E.

Referring to betel leaf the Ambassador observes: They bruise a portion of supari (arecanut) and put it in the mouth. Moistening a betel leaf together with a bit of chalk (chunam), they rub the one upon the other, roll them together and place them in the mouth. They use four or five leaves at a time and chew them. This brightens the countenance, and gives it a color, causes an intoxication similar to that of wine, appeases hunger, excites appetite in those who are satiated, it removes the disagreeable smell from the mouth and strengthens the teeth. It is impossible to express how strengthening it is and how much it excites the pleasure. Then he considers that the large harem the king has may be due to the properties of this plant. In Hindu Medical works, this compound has been given *fourteen* good properties which Razzak must have heard from the court physicians at Vijayanagar and most of which he has already given out.

by sovereigns of other nations and countries. Razzak, who was present at a grand festival, gives a glowing account of what he saw in this noble city and it is worth while to read it carefully. He declares—in pursuance of orders issued by the King of Bidjanagar, the generals and principal personages from all parts of his extensive empire, which runs over a space of three months' journey, presented themselves at the palace. They brought with them a thousand elephants, resembling the waves of a troubled sea, which were covered with brilliant armour and with castles magnificently adorned, in which were jugglers and artificers. On the trunks and ears of these animals had been drawn with cinabar and other substances, extraordinary pictures and figures of wonderful beauty, when the chiefs of the army with the eminent personages and learned Brahmins from each province, as well as the elephants were collected at the appointed time in front of the palace. During three consecutive days in the month of the Rajah the vast space of land magnificently decorated, in which the enormous elephants had been congregated together, presented the appearance of the waves of the sea, or that compact mass of men which will be assembled together at the day of the resurrection. Over this magnificent space were erected numerous pavilions to the height of three, four or even five stories, covered from top to bottom with numerous figures in relief. They represented everything that the imagination can picture, men, wild beasts, birds and animals of every kind down to flies and gnats. Everything was drawn with extraordinary skill and delicacy. Some of these pavilions were arranged in such a manner, that they could turn rapidly round and present a new face; at each movement a new chamber or a new hall presented itself to the view. In the front of this place rose a "palace" with nine pavilions magnificently decorated and ornamented. In the ninth the king's throne was set up. In the seventh was allotted a place to the humble author of this narrative. Between the

palace and the pavilions in an extremely beautiful situation were large numbers of musicians and story tellers.*

* NOTE.—On the tenth day of the Mahanavami festival called Vijya Dasami the monarchs usually sat on their imperial thrones and gave out large charities and sunnads. The Mahomedans count their months, similar to the Hindu Lunar months and Rajah comes sometimes in October. During the Vijaya Dasami all the gods in the city would march in procession with all their paraphernalia and go out to the Banni Tree, (same) where they make a halt, and puja is made to it. All the devotees take some leaves from this tree and distribute them among their friends and relations. This is supposed to purify them from their sins Arjuna, the third of the Pandu Princes, kept his arms on this tree, when they went to serve under Virata *incognito*. Although it is a festival of nine days the last three days are the most important, i.e., *Durgastami*, *Mahanarumi* and *Vijaya Dasami*: On the *Durgastami* day, Pooja is performed to the political goddess Durga which represents royal and material powers. The next-day-*Mahanarumi* is set apart for the performance of Pooja to Ayudass (arms) and horses, elephants, etc. on the third or Vijaya Dasami after the Pooja is over the ancient Kings were supposed to start on their course of conquests and subjugation of their enemies. But a careful reader of Razaak's description does not find that he refers to Mahanavami as there is no mention of gods and processions and the special sitting of the sovereign on his royal throne. *Mahanadu* in sanskrit means the great public of the whole empire. It is possible that the Vijayanagar Emperors, with a view to meet all the important Provincial personages, may have devised a festival lasting over three days at the capital under the name of *Mahanadu*. If so that would be made the occasion of the grandest festivities being arranged in the royal city and would necessarily be attended by all the Viceroys and Governors from the distant Provinces of this extensive empire. There were 25 viceroys and 200 governors and their presence with their large number of attendants at the capital must have greatly added to the splendours of the festivities. Abdur Razaak could not have altered so much the name of Maha Navami. We have already seen that the principal rulers in other Provinces had their own throne, at their capitals and the Vijaya Dasami festivities, would have been celebrated by each Provincial Viceroy in his own place. Razaak's entire silence on the Procession of the gods during this festival strikes a hard blow on the guesses of Elliot and St. well. Later on, in the History of Mysore, Krishna Raja Olevat was deposed by the British on the rising of *Mahanadu*. This festival which we disengaged with the downfall of the Vijayanagar empire. Razaak seems to have been wonderfully impressed with the beauty and charms of the dancing girls and his description of them is simply graphic. He says "there were some girls with cheeks as full as the moon and with faces more lovely than the

During these three consecutive days observes Raz-aak, from sunrise to sunset the royal festivities were extended in a style of the greatest magnificence. Fire works, games and amusements went on. On the third day Abdur Razaak was presented to the Emperor. A graphic description of the throne, appears from his pen, on which sat the Emperor Deva Raya II. He observes—"The throne which

spring ; clothed in magnificent dresses, and showing features, which like the freshest rose charmed every heart, were placed behind a pretty curtain opposite the pretty King. On a sudden the curtain was raised, and fell, the damsels arranged themselves for the dance with a grace calculated to seduce every sense and captivate every mind.

Jugglers gave numberless performances, who displayed elephants marvellously trained. They execute some feats of skill which are quite wonderful. Razaak speaks in a tone of admiration as regards the training of these elephants. He observes—they place three pieces of wood on the ground touching each other, each measuring 1 cubit in length. 1 in breath and three fourths in height. On the top of the two first, they place two other pieces of nearly same length and breadth and above the second piece they place another a little smaller, so that the first and the second pieces of wood form, as it were, steps by which to reach the third piece. A large elephant trained to this exercise stepping upon the first and second, ascends the third, the surface of which is scarcely broader than the sole of one of the feet of the animal. While the elephant supports himself with his four feet upon this beam, they raise behind him the other pieces of wood. The animal at once placed on the top of this beam follows with his trunk all the airs, which the musicians play, and moving in cadence with the time, raises and lowers his trunk alternately.

Another performance looks even more wonderful than this. They erect a column of 10 ghaz (30 ft.) high, on the top of which they fix a long piece of wood like the beam of scales and which has a hole in the middle. At one end they attach a stone, the weight of which is equal to that of the elephant and at the other end at the distance of one Ghaz, they place a plank one ghaz (3 ft.) in length. By means of a cord they lower the end to which the plank is fastened and on this the elephant mounts. His Keeper then lets go the cord little by little, the two extremities of this piece of wood are exactly balanced like the beam of a pair of scales and at a height of 10 ghaz (30 ft.). This piece of wood, one end of which bears the elephant and the other a stone of equal weight, turns after the fashion of a semicircle, making half a rotation from right to left in presence of the king and in this elevated position, the elephant follows all the airs of the musicians and makes the movements in cadence.

was of extraordinary size, was made of gold and enriched with gems of extreme value. The whole workmanship was perfect in its delicacy and ingenuity. It is probable that in all the kingdoms of the world, the art of inlaying precious stones is nowhere better understood than in this country. Before the throne was a square cushion, on the edges of which were sewn three rows of costly pearls. During the three days the king remained seated on this cushion. When the fete of Mahanadu was ended, at the hour of evening prayer I was introduced into the middle of four estrades, which were about 10 ghaz both in length and breadth, (This will be about 30 feet square). The roof of the walls was entirely formed of plates of gold enriched with precious gems. Each of these plates of gold was as thick as the blade of a sword and was fastened with gold nails. Upon the estrade in the front, is placed the throne of the Emperor and the throne itself is of very great size."

Mr. Sewell says " that the descriptions given by these travellers give us a good idea of the splendours of this great Hindu capital in the first half of the 15th century." The population of this city must have been immense. If Razaak's and Nicolo's statements even approach truth the strength of the army must be put down at 10 or 11 lacs of troops, of whom there must have been 200,000 or 300,000 troops stationed at this royal city and its immediate neighbourhood, both for its defence and for the preservation of the dignity of this " Emperor " who was the mightiest in India," to whom " Tribute was paid by the kings of Pegu, Ceylon, Tennaserim and other distant provinces " and whose empire extended over the whole of Southern India, half of the Deccan and all the East Coast from Cape Camorin up to the confines of Bengal." There were many Governors and Viceroys in the provinces and all of them necessarily had to maintain large establishments at the capital to watch their interests and to inform them of the important events which took place at the royal capital. A population of 30 to 40 lacs would not at all exceed the

actual figures and its trade and commerce, its industries, the luxurious establishments of the palaces and those of the principal ministers and nobles, required a corresponding number of servants, workmen, mechanics and traders of all classes and these constant feasts and processions, appear to have attracted numberless crowds of people from the neighbouring regions and countries, which must have given great stimulus for trade, manufactures and commerce. The monarchs of Vijayanagar, were charitable, tolerant, and patrons of all sciences and arts, and these virtues of the greatest Hindu sovereigns of the day, naturally attracted from all parts of India and the neighbouring countries, the best men to this royal capital, in arts, in industries, in sciences, in literature, in engineering, in war, in religious devotion, and in political training. There were four thousand principal and large temples and the number of the smaller fane must have been very large indeed. This shows that side by side the people were both religious, tolerant and luxurious. Different castes and creeds were generous towards each other and showed a perfect spirit of agreement.

The description given by Razaak, of the "moving pavilions of five stories which could turn rapidly round, and present a new face, at each moment a new chamber or a new hall presented itself to the view and the movements of the artificial lions, panthers, tigers, birds, etc., taxes our credulity a great deal, but the existence of such pavilions and figures, seems to be perfectly true since we have the evidence of the Persian Ambassador, who wrote what he clearly saw himself and whose long stay and minute powers of observation in the city, gave him the fairest opportunities of studying these details. This is the best possible documentary evidence we could have under the circumstances. The workmen, who could raise such pavilions and make such figures in relief, must have been very skilful and ingenious and these "magnificent pavilions" and "figures in bold relief" seem to have struck Abdur Razaak with special delight and admiration. No modern cities

of Expositions have shown such wonderful contrivances and the best Exhibitions of the 20th century have as yet been marked by their absence. Abdul Razaak's elephants stables seem to have been entirely destroyed.

The present elephant's stables can only accommodate about a dozen animals. The mint and other grand buildings referred to by the Persian Ambassador have entirely disappeared. From a careful perusal of the records available it seems clear that the royal city of Vijayanagar, had assumed a magnificence and proportion during the time of the Devarayas which it kept up progressing till its merciless sack by the combined Mahomedan armies. The population must have increased with the increase of wealth and power, so that this city must have been the grandest in India, if not in the whole world. Devarayas' I and II were great Emperors who did much to enlarge and beautify this royal city, to extend their empires on all sides, to consolidate their power, to improve the general condition of the masses, to encourage large and profitable irrigational works, to patronise arts and sciences and to have maintained a state of royal magnificence and splendour, which could have few parallels in the annals of other great and civilised nations.

This imperial city soon attracted the attention of the world by its picturesque situation, fabulous wealth, unrivalled magnificence, huge population and extraordinary extent. There was hardly any city in the whole of this wide world which commanded such resources and power as Vijayanagar and it therefore well deserves the praise that has been so graphically bestowed upon it by European and Native travellers.*

*NOTE.—About six years ago Lord Curzon, the Viceroy and Governor-General of India, visited these magnificent ruins which go under the name of Humpy Ruins. When he stood in their midst with his principal officers, these magnificent ruins of former political power and splendour seem to have roused his sympathy by their silent grandeur and dumb eloquence, with the result that he it once anchored a law of

CHAPTER XVI.

THE RULERS OF VIJAYANAGAR.

MALLIKARJUNA AND VIRUPAKSHA RAYAS.

The Periods and dates allotted to these two monarchs by European Historians, respectively, are not in conformity with the contents of the documentary evidence now available for public use. Mr. Sewell in his "Forgotten Empire" seems to have entirely overlooked the existence of many inscriptions belonging to the times of these two Princes. Sewell observes—"Two sons of Deva Raya II according to the inscriptions were named Mallikarjuna and Virupaksha respectively. There are inscriptions of the former dated 1452-53, and 1464-65 A. D. and one of the latter dated 1470 A. D. Mallikarjuna seems to have had two sons Rajasakara of whom we have inscriptions in the years 1479-80 and 1486-87 A. D. and Virupaksha II mentioned in an inscription dated 1483-84 A. D. three years earlier than the last of Rajasakara.

Dr. Hultzsch in the third volume of E. I. P. 36 gives these dates, but in the fourth volume of the same work P. 180 he notes that an inscription of Rajasakara exists at Ambur in North Arcot which is dated in the year corresponding to 1468-69 A. D." There is an inscription in Godamari in Anantapur District dated 1476 A. D., which records that Proudhā Deva Raya was king of Vijayanagar, Mr. Sewell observes "Rajasakara's second inscription must have been engraved very shortly before the final fall of the old royal house, for the first certain date of the usurper Narasimha is 1490 A. D." Mr. Rice gives also very meagre information. He observes—"Nothing of rupees for the removal of the debris and the preservation of the tottering edifices. Visitors now find these ruins of the former city in a state of cleanliness and are tempted to stay for some days more. Many underground structures of large dimensions have been unearthed and it is possible that if the excavations are carried on a larger scale there may yet be found immense piles of old buildings,

importance is known of the reigns of Mallikarjuna and Virupaksha. The former had, as his minister, Thimmanna Dahnayaka, lord of Nagamangala, who had held the same office under his father. Mallikarjuna is described as being at Penukonda, along with him, engaged in the affairs of Narasimha's kingdom. This may therefore have been a powerful chief whose possessions had escheated to the crown." *

*NOTE.—Sewell gives Mallikarjuna 1481 to 1487 A. D. Ramachandra 1487 to 1488 A. D. and Virupaksha 1488 to 1490 A. D. These are entirely misleading and incorrect, see p. 245, vol. II S. I. A. Sewell.

The Present Raja of Anagondia direct descendant of these powerful Emperors, sent me an old copy of the *Raya Vamsavali*, and it gives the following information. Deva Raya II was succeeded by his son Ramachendra who ruled from 1449 to 1468 A. D. His son Virupaksha ruled from 1463 to 1472 A. D. He was then ousted by Narasimha who ruled from 1472 to 1489 A. D. He was the founder of the second dynasty on the throne of Vijayanagar and belonged to a different stock of royal family. His eldest son Vira Narasimha succeeded him and ruled from 1490 to 1508 A. D. and was succeeded by his step-brother the great Krishna Devaraya who ruled from 1509 to 1529 A. D. Mr. Rice gives the following dates.

Mallikarjuna 1446 to 1467. He was also called Iminadi Deva Raya, Vijaya Raya II or Proudha Deva Raya,

Virupaksha Raya ruled from 1467 to 1479 A. D. Then comes Narasimha the founder of the second Dynasty who ruled from 1479 to 1487 A. D. His son Narasimha ruled from 1488 to 1505 A. D. His brother Krishna Deva Raya ruled from 1508 to 1529 A. D. See pp. 96-97, F. E. Sewell, 346-52, vol. I, M. G. Rice

Drs. Hultsch, Burnell and Kielhorn as well as Messrs. Sewell, Fleet and Bishop Caldwell, seem to have omitted to study the more important inscriptions in this connection and to have based their conclusion on a superficial examination. Dr. Burnell introduces the name of Ramachendra as well as the *Raya Vamsavali*. But the examination of a large number of inscriptions drives the reader to the irresistible conclusion that after Devaraya II, his two sons, Mallikarjuna and Virupaksha ruled in Vijayanagar until the latter was ousted from his ancestral throne by Narasimha Nuni makes Aja Rao rule up to 1467 A. D. After him comes Deo Rao II who rules for 25 years or up to 1487 A. D. His son Perio Rao ruled for 12 years or up to 1479 A. D. Nuni makes this king as having been killed by his nephew. After him came a successor whose name is not given but who is alleged to have given away one-fifth of his revenue to the temples. The Portuguese traveller bitterly complains that "no law is possible in the country where these Pagodas are." On the death of his king, the length of whose reign is not also given—his son Virupaka Rao succeeded. He was killed by his eldest son, and in turn he was killed by his younger brother Perio Rao. He was ousted by one of his Captains Narasimha

Referring to the Madras District Gazetteers, Bellary, the confusion is still greater as the author does not seem to have taken the least trouble to sift the evidence before him. In the first place he erroneously puts the death of Deva Raya II, at 1449 A. D. He then quotes for his authority facts from Mr. Sewell which have been shown to be quite unreliable. Mr. Francis thus continues his observations: "Who the Narasimha, who usurped the Vijayanagar throne in 1490 A. D. really was and how he succeeded in ousting the old kings is not altogether clear, nor are the events which immediately followed his accession He was apparently succeeded by his minister Narsa Naik and the latter's son, the famous Krishna Deva followed in 1509 A. D. the year that Henry VII, ascended the throne of England" *

NOTE —Madras District Gazetteers, Bellary, by W. Francis, I.C.S. 1904 A. D.

It is a pity that a valuable work issued under the authority of the Government should have been so hastily published. Mr. Francis remarks "the book has been written in haste in the intervals of other work and has claims on this ground to a lenient Judgment on its shortcomings." Mr. Francis does not seem to have realised his duties as a historian and betrays further great haste in his reading even of Mr. Sewell. He introduces confusion on his own responsibility into historical facts which have the best evidence for their support. In the hands of Mr. Francis, Krishna Deva Raya becomes the son of Narsa Naik, who appears as the minister to the usurper Narasimha. Mr. Sewell, his great authority, makes no reference to such events and the great Krishna Deva Raya in his immortal work "*Amuktamalyada*" clearly says that he is the son of Narasimha, the founder of the second dynasty, and the younger brother of Vira Narasimha who succeeded his father on the throne. Mr. Francis is wisely silent about the authorities for the confusion he introduces. The following authorities may be consulted

1. *Amuktamalyada* Aswasa I, sts. 24-33.
2. *Manucharitra* by Allasani Peddauna Aswasa I sts. 31-32-33.
3. *Paritupaharana* by Mukku Thimmana, pp. 36-37-38.
4. Ch. II M. D. G. Bellary by Francis.
5. P. 352, Vol. I., M. G. by Rice
6. P. 113, Ch. IX F. E. by Sewell,
7. P. 248, Vol. II. S. I. A. by Sewell.

Krishna Deva Raya gives his own genealogy thus—“From Chandra (Lura) sprang Buda. After him came Pururava and Ayoo, then Yayati who had two sons Yadu and Durvasu. In the line of Durvasu sprang many powerful princes. In it arose Thimma Bhupati. Iswara was born from his wife Devaki. Iswara had by Bukkamba two sons, Thimmaraja and Narasimharaja (founder of the second dynasty). Narasimha had by Thippamba Vira Narasimha, and by Nagamba, Krishna Deva Raya.” It is absurd to suppose that persons would quote falsely the names of their fathers and grandfathers. When the great Emperor Krishna Deva Raya himself publicly makes a statement about his father, his brother and the order of succession to the throne of Vijayanagar, I really fail to see the logic of history-makers to introduce unnecessary confusion into clearly established facts and figures.

There are 26 inscriptions and copper-plate grants leading the readers from 1447 to 1464 A. D. which commemorate the reign of Mallikarjuna Maharaya, and the genealogies are one in saying that Mallikarjuna was the son of Devaraya II. by Ponnala Devi. More than twenty *sasanas* clearly mention the reign of Virupaksha ranging from 1469 to 1478 A. D. There are also a dozen inscriptions which apparently belong to this period but they do not mention the ruler at the time they were engraved. An inscription dated 1481 A. D. mentions the name of Katari Saluva Narasinga Raya and his house minister Virupaksha as granting Chunchanahalli in Arni Sthala. *

* NOTE.—The original mentions the cyclic year Krodi (1484 A. D.) The words Katari Saluva used in the sasana may have induced Mr. Rice to make it belong to Narasimha. See No. 59, Nagamangala E. C. Rice

Narasimha appears to have risen high by this time to command a palace minister. Mr. Rice commits in my opinion mistake in his guess. The following may be read with much interest

In 79 Nagamangala the original gives the saka year as 1493 Nauda, while Mr. Rice has the knick to put down the corresponding Christian year as 1394 A. D. in his translation and put only 11 in his transliteration. He poses as a great authority in history and archiology. T. B.

Mallikarjuna was also called Immadi Proudhā Deva Raya, Immadi Deva Raya and Virapratapa Deva Raya. He was named after the god Mallikarjuna of Srigiri. Thimmanna Danda Naika was his Maha Pradhan (chief prime minister), who accompanied his royal master to Penukonda to settle Narsingās kingdom. During his reign the Guru of Hayvve Dravidas, at Gocurna, seems to have received special privileges. A *sasana* mentions that Mallikarjuna was protecting the *Vanasrama Dharmas* and tolerated freely the different forms of religious worships. Hamparsa, of the customs department, made endowments to god Mallikurjuna in order that merit may accrue to his royal master. Reading the available *sasanās* it seems that Mallikarjuna was greatly popular like his great ancestor Huihara II. In 1464 A. D. Mallikarjuna seems to have got a son as he granted a village in honor of the Namakarna festival in the great Araga kingdom. What became of this son we have as yet no reliable information. Large mathematical processes for conversion of the saka into A. D. are really wonderful in the hands of Mr. Rice. Saka (Salivahana) 1498- $\frac{1}{78}$ =1571 A. D. The cyclic year Nandana does not fit either with S. 1493 or 1394 A. D. See pp. 183-231-385. Vol. IV. E. C. Rice.

In No. 74 Heggadadevanakotay the saka year is clearly given as 1100, while Mr. Rice converts it into 1498 A. D. liberally subscribing 20 years from his imagination. Saka 1400 would be $1400 - \frac{1}{78} = 1478$ A.D. and this refers to Saluva Narasimha. We know, as a matter of fact, that in 1498 A.D. it was Vira Narasimha, the eldest son of Saluva Narasimha, who was ruling on the throne of Vijayanagar. In No. 41 Gundlpet Mr. Rice puts 1585 A. D. for the cyclic year Manmatha while the original gives no Saka date. This *sasana* clearly refers to Maharajadhi Raja Saluva Narasimha Raja. We know, as a matter of fact, that in 1635 A. D. Atchuya Raya was ruling in Vijayanagar. Mr. Rice bungles over these matters in a very funny manner. Maumatha refers to 1476 or 1476 A. D. and we know that the usurper Narasimha was already on the throne or had raised himself as the foremost man in the empire. There is some uncertainty as regards the correct date of the usurpation of the throne by Narasimha. An inscription dated s. Vikiriti 1393 found at Avur, S. Arcot, records that a private grant was made during the reign of Narasimha Deva Raya of Vijayanagar. This would be 1471 or 1472 A.D. "Raya Tamasaavalli" records that Narasimha usurped the throne in 1472 A. D.

references are also found in these inscriptions to grants of land on terms of Shrotira Agraharas (*Kuttugulitgi vritti*) for the purpose of planting arecanut trees and also for impounding cattle. The king also gave a copperplate grant to Raghavaswara Bharati Sripada in Gocurna and seems to have been specially interested in Hayvve Brahma-mins. This *sasana* refers to an original grant by the great sage Vidyaranya to Cidbodha Bharati, and Mallikarjuna, while confirming the previous grant of the sage, made further concessions to use two five branched torches, and five kalasas above the palanquin. In the Raya Vamsavali Ramachundra is named as the son and successor of Deva Raya II and is alleged to have ruled from 1449 to 1463 A. D. a period which generally coincides with the rule of Mallikarjuna. Probably in addition to his various names already quoted, Mallikarjuna may have also been called Ramachundra. All inscriptions are unanimous about Mallikarjuna's reign and the difficulty can only be solved by assuming that Ramachundra was one of the many names of Mallikarjuna. Raya Vamsavali says that Narasimha was a close relation of a Karnataka Prince named Sri Ranga Devaraya, who was the 11th in direct descent from Bijnala the elder brother of Vijaya Dhwaja (founder of Vijayanagar) and who sent Saluva Narasimha with a powerful army to recover his ancestral kingdom. Narasimha ruled from 1472 to 1489 A. D. He was succeeded by his eldest son Vira Narasimha who ruled from 1489 to 1508. Krishna Deva was 19 years old when his brother ascended the throne and helped him in his administration for 19 years and was probably 38 years old when he succeeded his brother Vira Narasimha on his throne. Thus he was practically at the head of affairs in Vijayanagar for nearly 40 years and was the most lucky monarch among those who ruled this extensive and powerful empire. The genealogical trees given in the sasanas and the order of succession appear to be in perfect agreement; and these should remove, once for all, the difficulties in the path to form a

correct history of the first or Sangama Dynasty which sat on the throne of Vijayanagar. *

Mallikarjuna's first inscription is dated Prabhava S. 1369 (1447 A.D.) and followed closely upon the Sravana Belagola sasana of Kshaya, when Deva Raya II died, succeeded by his eldest son. The latest inscription belonging to this Emperor Mallikarjuna is dated Parthiva S. 1387 (1465 A. D), which records grants to god Arkanatha, during the reign of Vira Pratapa Deva Raya (Mallikarjuna). There are some inscriptions to guide us as regards the relationship of Mallikarjuna and Virupaksha. In an inscription dated Rutu, Randhra, Guna and Vidhu S. 1396 (1474 A. D), the genealogy of the reigning Prince Virupaksha is clearly given. It says "In Yadu vaunsa arose Sangama, from whom came Bukka Bhoopala. From him sprang Harihara (II) Mahipala. His wife was Mala Devi and their son was Pratapa Deva Raya I or Bukka II. His wife was Deimambika and Vijaya Bhupati sprang from them. To him by Narayna Devi was born Pratapa Mahipathi or Deva Raya II. His wife was Simhala Devi and their son was Virupaksha. The foreign travellers agree in saying that the Kings of Ceylon paid tribute to the emperors of Vijayanagar. Simhala Devi seems to have been a Princess from Simhala Dwipa (Ceylon). Turning to several inscriptions belonging to the period of Mallikarjuna, the genealogies are correctly

* NOTE.—See P. 215, Vol. II, S. I. A. Stewell.

"Raya Vamsavali" with the Raja of Anagondi.

No.	99	Hunsur.
"	167	Sorab.
"	194	Tirthahalli
"	12	Mandvi
"	68	Nagar.
"	206	Tirthahalli.
"	89	Srirungapatam.
"	65	Nagar
"	133	Srirungapatam.
"	69	Nagar.
"	121	Malavalli E. C. Rice.

given as above quoted except that the reigning monarch is naturally mentioned as Mallikarjuna or Immadi Proudha Deva Raya. A sasanā dated S. 1376, Bhava (1455A.D.) records that "in the Chandra Vamsa arose Yadu. From him sprang Sangama. Bukka was his son. Harihara II was the son of Gouramba and Bukka. He, by Melambika, had the son Pratapa Deva Raya I. To him and Demambika was born Vijaya Bhupathi. He, by Narayana Devi, had the son Proudha Pratapa Deva Raya II. His queen was Ponnala Devi by whom he had a son Mallikarjuna. Up to Devaraya II the Pedigrees given in the *sasanās* are in perfect agreement. Emperor Deva Raya II had apparently two Queens Ponnala Devi and Simhala Devi and Mallikarjuna and Virupaksha were the sons of the two Queens respectively. The relationship is clearly established and Virupaksha was the younger brother of Mallikarjuna by a different mother.*

In this inscription the words "Nijagraja" appear which seem to have completely puzzled the brain of Mr. Rice who says in his translation that Pratapa Mahipathi obtained the immemorial kingdoms from his elder sister? I have seen the original and it runs thus—"Thusu Nijagraja Praptamanadi Rajjia."†

*NOTE—See. No 299 Shikurpur.
 " 64. Malavalli.
 " 121 Mallavalli }

E. C. Rice

† There is no difficulty in these words unless one chooses to rack his brain for unnecessary confusion and chaos. The empire of Vijayanagar, founded by sage Vidyaranya, ran regularly among its Sovereigns. Vidyaranya placed Hukka or Harihara I on the throne and after his death his third brother Bukka succeeded him. Then came Bukka's son Harihara and Deva Raya I (Bakka II) his son succeeded him. His son was Vijaya who was succeeded by his son Deva Raya II. Then followed his two sons Mallikarjuna and Virupaksha respectively when the latter was ousted from his ancestral throne by Saluva Narasimha Raya. We have a few *sasanās* which mention Sadasiva, Virupaksha, and Harihara but these seem to have acted as rulers only for a short time when the real kings were away on military expeditions or touring work. Why then should a historian create unnecessary confusion?

Almost all these Princes had two or more names and to a novice in historical literature of the Hindu periods and dynasties these different names, no doubt, cause some confusion in the beginning. All the inscriptional genealogies are perfectly unanimous in supporting the above order of succession and relationship and it would be absurd to refer the words *Thasya Nijagraja* to Deva Raya II and make him inherit the kingdom from his elder sister. That may be made to refer to Virupaksha and then his *Nijagraja* would be Mallikarjuna from whom he inherited the kingdom and not directly from his father.

Anadi—from time immemorial:

Nija—true or own.

Agraja—one born before—figuratively one who went before a man in any office.

There would be little sense in spending much midnight oil over these useless and self-created difficulties. If *Thasya* refers to Virupaksha, then *Nijagraja* refers to Mallikarjuna, who ruled before him and who was his elder brother. If *Thasya* refers to Devaraya II then *Nijagraja* figuratively refers to the sovereign (his father) who sat before him on the throne and this would be Vijaya. This usage of the term has support in many sanskrit books. The confusion of bringing in a female relation from whom the kingdom was supposed to have been inherited ought to be avoided. The evidence is clear and unmistakable.

The first inscription of Virupaksha is dated Sarvajit S. 1389 (1468 A.D.) and the last is dated S. 1400 Vilambi or 1478 A.D. One of the inscriptions quoted above contains some injunctions to the Brahmins, which are of special interest, as showing that the Brahmins had already begun to mortgage, or sell away their shares in the free agraharas which they obtained from the Princes of Vijayanagar or other charitable persons. The sasana runs thus, 'if any Brahman shareholder mortgage or sell his share

to the Sudras he shall be put out of the Brahman community and such shares shall not belong to this place." As the closing days of the first dynasty are involved in great obscurity and uncertainty, and as I have to go into some detail regarding the history of the Deccan Mahadevadas and the rise of a new monarch Saluva Narasimha Raya in Vijayanagar, I shall take up these important questions in part II of this History. The Empire of Vijayanagar seems to have suffered much during the last days of Virupaksha, probably on account of his neglect of state affairs, or his incapacity to deal vigorously with the troubles which surrounded him. The study of these inscriptions is sadly disappointing, in giving particulars as to the manner in which these two last sovereigns died, as to the work they did during their periods, as to the condition of the people at that time, as to the power and relationship of these princes with the large number of nobles and states who were under their sway, and as to how a powerful empire, with such large armies and resources at command, could have so easily been overthrown by the usurper Narasimha Deva who remained hitherto unknown and insignificant person. It is easy to draw inferences against the character and capacity of these later monarchs, in the absence of reliable information, but these may be upset by the discovery of further documentary evidence. There is still much work to be done in the field of archaeology and that which has to be done hereafter must be done with extra care and caution. Narasimha, from all these accounts, appears to have been ruling much earlier than 1490 A. D. at Vijayanagar. From 1465 A. D. no inscriptions are forthcoming as referring to Mallikarjuna's rule and the inscriptions of Virupaksha go as far as 1478 A. D. There are some inscriptions which refer to Saluva Narasimha earlier than the above dates and these have to be specially noticed in the next chapter. An inscription dated S. 1400 (1478 A. D.) clearly says, that when Maha Rajadhi Raja, Raja Parameswara

Sri Vira Pratapa Virupaksha Maharaya was ruling the kingdom in Hastinavati (Vijayanagar) in peace and wisdom, Amara Naika, the great feudatory champion over three Rajas T. Savanna Odeyar's house watchman Bommayya Naika by his lord's order built the Gopura for the God Prasanna Kesava of the immemorial Agrahara Anantapura (Kallatur near Kanchi) and granted feeding and worship. A sasana dated Maimalai (1475 A. D.) says clearly that when Sri Virupaksha was ruling in Vijayanagar, certain Gowdas bought land, for the God Kesava of Kesaraguppe in Edi nad, in the Chandragutti nad.*

An inscription dated Nandana S. 1395 (1473 A. D.) records that when the glory of the Iswarakula, the great Maharaja Virupaksha was ruling the kingdom in peace and wisdom the great champion Bairanna Naika was ruling in Horaguppe Hebbayalnad, Haivanna Naika, in order that merit may accrue to them, had the Parshwanatha Tirthankara Chaityalaya made in Iduvane.†

Another sasana records that when Vira Pratapa Virupaksha Maharaya was ruling in Vidyanagari and by that monarch's order Devappa Dannaikayaka was protecting the Araga Kingdom, some persons fought at Yalayasale and a Virakal was set up.‡

From these and other inscriptions it seems reasonable to suppose that Virupaksha Maharaya was ruling nominally or really till about 1478 A. D. and that Saluva Narasimha Deva Raya was either acting under his orders and secretly gaining power and influence in the army or was one of those feudatories who, seeking proper opportunities, took advantage of the weak government at the capital

*NOTE.—See No. 153, Chennarayapattana No 527, Sorab, E. C. Rice.

†NOTE.—See No. 60 Sagai, E. C. Rice.

‡NOTE See No. 118 Tirthahalli E. C. Rice.

RELATIONSHIP OF SALUVA NARASIMHA

gathered forces and ousted the lineal descendants of the first dynasty by his superior valour, great popularity and unbounded personal influence. We have seen already that Devanayya II. had an elder sister Harima, who was married to Saluva Thipparaja, and was named in the sasana as "Raya Bhan Hatta Malla" or chief of some political department. It is possible to think that Saluva Narasimha was some close relation of this Thipparaja and may have been brought up by him, as Vijaya married his daughter to a man in the Saluva Family. It may be imagined that the new sovereign was not altogether unconnected with the first dynasty of Sangama, and that the relationship was claimed through the female line. The Saluvas claim their descent from the Lunar line and this confirms the inference which is drawn from family surnames and genealogies.

The end of Part I.

